carolina planning

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Introduction

A change in administration and the start of a new decade have provoked a reexamination of the role of planning. In this issue of *carolina planning*, "Planning in the Eighties: A Special Report" views the future of planning in seven articles, each focused on a separate substantive area of the profession. The articles suggest changes which may be forced upon the profession, as well as changes that it would benefit us to initiate, informed by experiences of previous decades. New partnerships with the private sector in response to a reduced federal presence is a refrain heard throughout the report.

In other articles, Ed Bergman explores strategies for local economic development in the eighties and the planner's role in implementing them; Richard Ducker gives an overview and analysis of recent legislation affecting planning in five southeastern states; and Stephanie Greenberg and Charles Usher discuss the distribution of the public costs of growth, based on a study of the Raleigh/Durham area.

carolina planning is beginning with this issue a new section of the magazine: *In the Works*. This section, researched and written by our staff, focuses on proposed or recently undertaken projects. It is our hope that practicing planners will use this section of *cp* to communicate with other planners in the southeast concerned with similar issues. Call or write with information about interesting projects "in the works" and we will do the additional research and writing.

In order to make space for the Special Report, the *forum* and *letters* sections of the magazine were left out of this issue and will return in the spring.

The spring issue of *carolina planning* will focus on planning in rural areas. We would like to request from our readers articles, letters, book reviews and forum pieces which pertain to this subject. Thank you for your continued support.

-The Editors

carolina planning

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carolina planning welcomes submissions from our readers. Article-length manuscripts should be typed with a maximum of twenty double-spaced pages. *carolina forum* pieces, on interesting activities or planning issues, should be a maximum of seven pages. Letters to the Editor will vary accordingly.

Subscriptions to *carolina planning* are available at an annual rate of $7.00 ($8.50 outside North America), or $13.00 for two years ($14.50 outside North America). Please be sure to give us your new address should you move.

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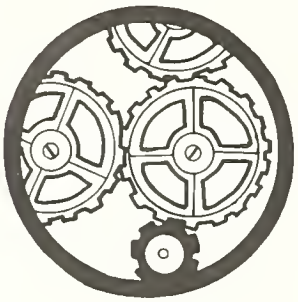


In The Works

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

In Greenville, South Carolina the County Planning Commission has developed a creative strategy for controlling future development of a mountain area. Proposed zoning for the 4,000 acre "Altamont Corridor" area of Paris Mountain in Greenville is based on the area's special environmental characteristics. It is proposed that growth be limited by the carrying capacity of the existing road servicing the area.

The proposed development strategy for undeveloped land within the corridor is based on a slope-density ratio formula. Its aim is to allow the corridor to develop to the limit allowed by the design capacity of the road, without restrictions of minimum lot size, and with emphasis upon higher density on flatter land.

The proposal has not been adopted by the Greenville County Council. The Planning Commission is still working with the Altamont Corridor major property owners to evaluate the impact of the proposed ordinance.

Similar slope-density ratio management policies have been implemented in many California communities and in the southeast, by the North Kentucky Area Planning Commission and the City of Oak Ridge, Tennessee. The Greenville proposal received the South Carolina APA Chapter Award for Planning Excellence at the recent tri-state APA meeting in Savannah, Georgia.

For more information, contact Charles Perry, Greenville County Planning Commission, P.O. Box 1947, Courthouse Annex, Greenville, SC 29602, (803) 298-8671.

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

The Greensboro, North Carolina Community Development program is realizing some success in a joint historic preservation/neighborhood improvement project in the "College Hill" neighborhood, an area populated largely by students and senior citizens. The neighborhood center piece, a deteriorated flour mill listed on the National Register of Historic Places, has recently been turned over to a private developer for conversion to a 28-unit apartment building. The developer's project proposal was approved by the Community Development program before title transfer. The same developer plans to build 66 condominiums, in accord with a neighborhood infilling policy. The city has been instrumental in financing the project through obtaining Section 312 renovation loans for the mill through the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

For more information, contact Bill Chambliss, Greensboro Planning Department, (919) 373-2144.

WASHINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

Washington, North Carolina is a National Main Street Center City, Selected in a national competition conducted by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The National Main Street Center program gives technical advice and encourages state support of the revitalization of commercial districts of architectural distinction in small towns.

The Downtown Washington Improvement Corporation, funded by a one-year grant from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, proposes that a special tax district be created. A 100% increase in downtown area property taxes would raise $35,000 which could be used by the city to support the non-profit development corporation. A public hearing on the proposal is scheduled for the end of November.

The establishment of a non-profit downtown development corporation was one of the recommendations made in a study of the downtown conducted by outside consultants for the Planning Department in 1979. The study included a fiscal space analysis, an economic analysis, and a facade analysis.

The facade analysis provided the basis for new blanket certificates of appropriateness for the downtown historic district. Facade renderings and instructions for recommended renovations of downtown buildings were prepared by the consultants. Property owners whose plans conform with these renderings are issued blanket

certificates of appropriateness for their proposed renovations of downtown buildings.

For more information, contact Marvin Davis, Washington Planning Department, P.O. Box 1988, Washington, NC 27889, (919) 946-1033.

CARRBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Zones float in Carrboro, North Carolina. So suggests one part of the Industrial Rezoning Study prepared by Carrboro's Planning Department last summer. The study proposed an "area of suitability" for industrial development. The area was chosen for its access to transportation, utilities and other existing services required by industry, and for the suitability of its natural features for industrial use. The study developed "industrial site standards" for individual sites within the "area of suitability" in order to match sites with industrial uses.

The floating zone, in effect, "floats" over the area of suitability. As proposed, it works like this: with a particular industrial project in mind, a developer first ascertains that it meets Carrboro's "industrial performance standards," included in the Town Land Use Ordinance. Next, the study's industrial site standards determine which site within the "area of suitability" is best suited to the proposed industrial use. After detailed on-site testing to verify suitability, the developer requests rezoning and a permit for the project at the same time. Upon approval, the permit-granting authority rezones the site (affixes the floating zone) and grants the required permit.

This zoning technique allows developers a wider area for site selection than does traditional zoning and an assured rezoning and permit upon satisfying set performance and site standards. At the same time, this technique gives the town greater control over the site characteristics of industries that locate within the suitability area. Another benefit of the floating zones to the community is that existing land use and zoning in the "area of suitability" remain unchanged until the floating zone is affixed to a site and an industrial project is approved.

The Carrboro study has not been adopted as Town policy. It is being reviewed by the Board of Aldermen and the Planning Board.

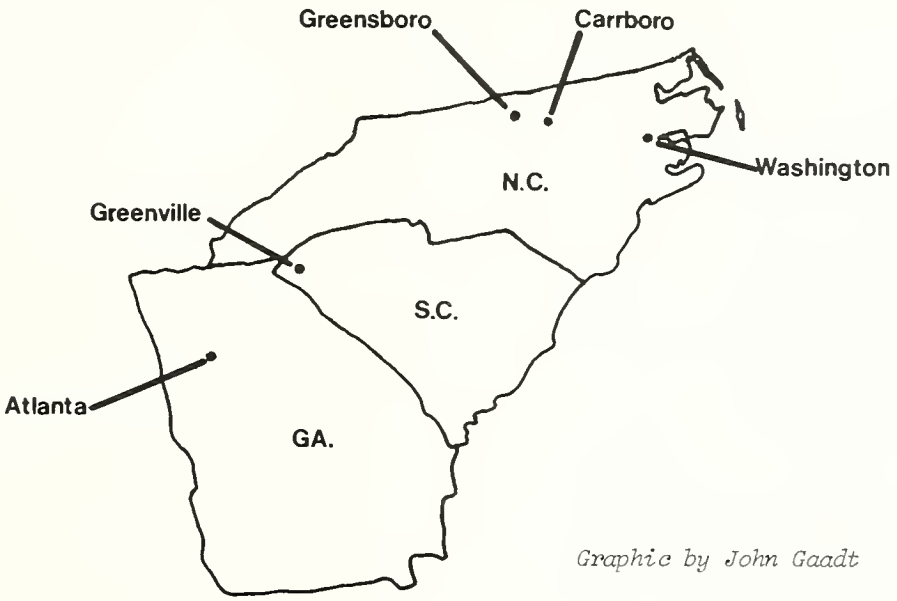
For more information, contact Claudia Kitchen, Planning Department, Town of Carrboro, NC 27510 (919)942-8541.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Trends in crime, redevelopment, displacement and many other areas can now be mapped in an attractive and readable form by the Atlanta Planning Department. Its new "interactive graphics system with data base language" produces color maps on a city, area, small area and parcel basis. The Planning Department expects to use the maps to disseminate information about the city to citizens and businesses.

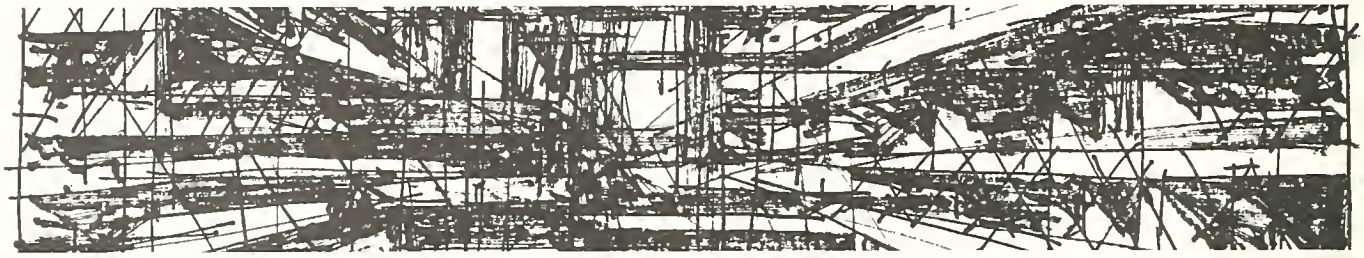
The department's new computer replaces a more labor intensive system at a time when planning staffs are shrinking. It allows for a broader and more detailed data base and presents information in a more readable form.

For more information, contact Panky Bradley, City of Atlanta, Planning Department, (404) 658-6400.



Graphic by John Gaadt

Planning in the Eighties: A Special Report



Community Organizing, Self-Help, and Planning in the Eighties

Environmental Planning in the Eighties

Neighborhood Planning in the Eighties

Transportation Planning in the Eighties

Public Participation in the Eighties

North Carolina's Lead Regional Organizations in the Eighties

Human Services Planning in the Eighties

Introduction

This special report on the future of planning is a direct response to the wave of self-examination now underway for planning practitioners, academics and community groups. The young decade's tides of budget slashing, regulation cutting and reorganization have led many to reassess the mission of planning, planners' identities and approaches planners use to achieve their goals.

carolina planning has asked a number of noted practitioners and academics in various fields of planning to sketch some impressions about planning in this decade. In the following report, the contributors view recent trends in substantive areas of planning practice, discuss the roles planners may play and the approaches planners may be taking. One major thread running through the pieces is the need for strong planning in a period of shrinking resources.

Community Organizing, Self-Help, and Planning in the Eighties

Community organizing has never been very kind to planning. In the next decade, the issues faced by grass-roots organizations and self-help development groups, and the strategies they adopt to meet those issues, are likely to cause more intense conflicts with planners and put pressure on planners to develop new skills.

The methodology of community organizing has many elements which are antithetical to the methodology of planning. Many community organizations, focusing on short-term tactics, have looked to planners for ammunition for community fights and little else. Indeed, one of the rules of Alinsky-style organizing is not to get "bogged down" in planning.

Even neighborhood organizations which have become directly involved as the developers of projects taken from a comprehensive plan have

not worked easily with city planners. These development organizations need planning, but the kind of planning they need can be characterized more as market strategy and project management planning than as comprehensive community planning. When these groups have looked to or hired planners with public agency backgrounds, they have often found that those planners lacked the skills needed to arrange financing for and to manage the implementation of housing and economic development projects.

The cutbacks in government spending at every level will make the near future even rougher for planners who will be involved with community organizations. The number of planners in public agencies is likely to be reduced, creating a heavier work load for those who remain. Furthermore, public agencies will be under fire from constituency and community organizations on the impact of budget reductions. For better or worse, administrators in the sixties and seventies learned to rely on planners for the front-line representation of agencies at public meetings with community groups. As community groups grow more hostile to administrative policies, planners run the risk of being cannon fodder in the confrontation.

THE FUTURE OF ORGANIZING

Certainly community organizing must learn new strategies, and those are emerging. In a period of a shrinking public resource base, old style confrontation organizing, which demanded always more from public authorities, becomes outmoded. When faced with demands that exceed budget capabilities, mayors and other elected officials have been taking a hard line with neighborhood based constituency groups.

"No win" confrontations often occur because frustrated citizens cannot present realistic alternatives to public policies they see as detrimental. The organizing of the eighties must shape creative alternatives for budget strapped bureaucracies or it will fail. Community organizing must push for reorganization of public service delivery systems, greater budget scrutiny, accountability for output and new modes of performing old public work.

For example, in the early sixties, it was not uncommon for public housing authorities to account for operating costs by cost item on a pooled basis, including all projects within the responsibility of the housing authority. Since there was no project based accounting, there was no incentive for a tenants' organization to reduce the vandalism costs in a given project in hopes of applying that cost saving to some improvement in that specific project. When tenant organizing and then the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban development forced project based cost accounting, tenant organizations were in a position to negotiate for improvements based on tenant activities to reduce the historic operating costs of their particular projects. Could this learning of the sixties be applied to the eighties?

"IN A PERIOD OF A SHRINKING PUBLIC RESOURCE BASE, OLD STYLE CONFRONTATION ORGANIZING, WHICH DEMANDED ALWAYS MORE FROM PUBLIC AUTHORITIES, BECOMES OUTMODED."

I am anxious to see the first neighborhood organization negotiate a neighborhood based cost accounting system across all public services provided by government. It would then be possible for residents to launch self-help efforts to provide certain services for themselves in order to see those cost savings applied to services which they desire but could not be provided under budgets drawn by more conventional methods.

PLANNERS' OPTIONS

As the eighties bring a return of those policies which gave us conflict and confrontation in the sixties, public sector planners are inevitably placed between opposing camps in the public debate. They might well be advised to learn some group process skills applicable to the situation. The techniques of conflict resolution have been markedly refined over the past twenty years and are taught by a wide variety of organizational development and human relations training networks across the country. Further, planners' communication skills could be improved and broadened to embrace new group techniques and new technologies.

In the final analysis, however, issues of substance are more irresolvable than process techniques. Budget constraints will simply not allow the level of service or capital improvement that many community organizations will demand. Reimbursement formulas will not support the cost of human services that constituency groups will demand. The planner is called on by those inside the agency and clients outside the agency to be a magician of sorts. Knowing the issues now, planners must get to work to envision alternative solutions for planned shrinkage of government budgets: less expensive modes of delivery; self-help services, or "privatization" of public services; involvement of unions, public officials, and organized citizens in problem solving before the issues are joined in the streets.

Joseph McNeely directs the Public/Private Ventures' National Economic Development Internship Program.

SELF-HELP DEVELOPERS

Confrontation organizing is not the only trend among neighborhood groups. The last ten years have witnessed a tremendous increase in the number of community based organizations attempting to become developers in their own right.

In some cases, a group's development approach was motivated by dissatisfaction with other entities implementing community revitalization plans, or by the unintended consequences of earlier revitalization activity (such as displacement resulting from increased real estate activity and visible community improvements). In other instances, the move to development was inspired by the growing recognition by self-help organizations that the build-up of equity in the community was being lost to outside developers, and profits which could be recycled into further development were being drained away. Whether to respond to a problem or to seize an opportunity, thousands of neighborhood self-help organizations in cities and rural communities across the country have become or have begun to move toward becoming development corporations.

In virtually every region of the country, and among every ethnic and income group, there are outstanding examples of community based self-help organizations which have become successful real estate developers, housers, business developers, and industrialists. These organizations exist and have succeeded in both urban and rural settings, and in cities of virtually every size. They have built new housing for ownership and for rental. They have successfully managed complex multi-family rental projects. They have renovated abandoned buildings and turned them back to low-income rental property. They have created a wide variety of rehabilitation programs to recycle deteriorated properties for home ownership by low and moderate-income families. They have created new jobs and new businesses in their communities targeted to the unemployed of those areas. They have assisted local businessmen in revitalizing neighborhood retail districts and have constructed or helped finance the construction of a wide variety of retail and commercial space. They have attracted new industry and assisted small manufacturing firms in their communities to expand.

In some cases, they have developed equity pools to invest in the creation of new ventures in their communities thereby creating a net increase of available jobs. They have successfully operated targeted programs in employment training to free their community's unemployed. Many have recognized, and the National Commission on Neighborhoods has documented, that the participation of these organizations often creates new revitalization solutions not envisioned by public officials or technicians in the fields of housing, economic development, and commercial revitalization.

In the past, self-help development groups have also shown their creativity in their ability to combine the resources of neighborhood residents, government, private businesses, and lending institutions in unique ways that meet the needs of their immediate neighborhoods. These leveraging schemes inevitably created partnerships where there might otherwise have been confrontation. The future will clearly bring greater involvement of the private sector as partners in neighborhood revitalization.

Photo by Anne Hafrey

The self-help development groups which will be successful in the eighties are those which can translate community goals into investment opportunities for private capital, albeit that some of the risks of the deals will be underwritten with public funds. To be successful, self-help developers need internal expertise, reliable and sensitive external advice, and access to conventional sources of public and private funds.

The private sector has begun to respond. Lending institutions all over the country are involved in reinvestment projects. Neighborhood Housing Services have re-awakened thousands of savings and loans. Commercial revitalization projects everywhere involve local banks. Aetna Life Insurance has agreed to finance redevelopment schemes in six neighborhoods by funding the capacity-building needs of those neighborhoods and their national coordinator, National People's Action. Traveller's has created a new department for its reinvestment program. Prudential has increased its neighborhood oriented efforts by making five million dollars of below market loans available through the national Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC). In addition, LISC has recruited corporate commitments all over the country to create a substantial pool of investment capital. The insurance companies of Minneapolis and St. Paul have

created a similar local pool. The demand still outstrips supply, but the private sector is becoming more open if neighborhood groups are delivery oriented and plan their projects with a "bottom line" appeal.

THE PLANNER'S ROLE

The planning skills needed by community economic development organizations are the planning tools of real estate and business development: market analysis to pinpoint the opportunities for new ventures; feasibility analysis for sites in low- and moderate-income communities; identification of comparables and the analysis of competition. These are the kinds of analyses a neighborhood development organization needs from a planner, rather than broad economic analyses. In business education, this field of work is included under the heading, "the economics of the firm." Unfortunately, there has been no counterpart area of study in planning schools on the details of project development. If it has been a struggle to refine the tools of economic planning to the micro-economics of a city or a significant portion of a city or rural area, planners must struggle even more to get down to this mini-economics level.

Planners are in a position to serve self-help development groups as outside advisors, as brokers to their own public agencies, and as connections to the private sector. As outside advisors, they can refine the business planning of projects; they can identify and recruit technical expertise within government agencies. As brokers, they can help sell the public role in the investment deal. As a point of access to the private sector, public planners can identify potential private partners through public agency contacts and experiences. They can also help a neighborhood group define the gains it must negotiate for in a partnership. Finally, public agencies can bestow on neighborhood groups credibility with the private sector.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

There are two improvements in the planning profession which were not made in the sixties or seventies but which community organization in the eighties and nineties will demand. The first improvement is of policy and program analysis so we can avoid detrimental side effects of revitalization activities. The second improvement is the popularization of planning skills so that they might be practiced by a larger number of community residents who are not planning technicians.

The current issues of displacement and gentrification illustrate the deficiencies in the state-of-the-art in planning program interventions for neighborhood revitalization. Remember some examples with a longer history: the failure of joint development schemes intended to protect residential neighborhoods from interstate highway construction; the neighborhood upheaval caused by relocation policies intended to prevent displacement of residents; and the disastrous economic effect of the construction of highway bypasses around small towns intended to improve business on main street. Each of these schemes had unintended consequences that were devastating to those who lived in the communities intended to be "saved." In a time of volatile economics and shrinking resources, planning needs to be more competent in identifying program outcomes. A better understanding of the economic market place within which public programs operate is more essential now than it ever has been.

Finally, if the public is to make better use of planning tools, then planners must also become educators. Planners will be challenged to demystify the planning process and to spend more time affording community organization leaders the opportunity to use the techniques of professional planning. The jargon itself of planning can often be more of a barrier than a help to the planning process. In my own neighborhood, the planning unit of the development department recently distributed a flier urging all citizens to come out to attend the public meeting to discuss the construction of "100 DUs." There was a footnote explaining that DU meant housing for the elderly. What ever happened to apartments? We have learned from some of the confrontations of the past that often community members who are not technicians or planners arrive at the most creative solutions to community problems. Planners cannot afford to be the only active agents involved in designing alternative solutions.

Environmental Planning in the Eighties

"Environmental planning" encompasses such a diverse range of vocations, professional interests and institutional milieux that it is difficult to generalize briefly about its future form and content. It includes, for instance, public sector specialists in air and water pollution control, area-wide waste management planning, and environmental impact assessment; resource management professionals planning the uses of public lands, forests and parks; and engineer/planners developing water supply systems. It includes private sector specialists in industrial environmental planning, planners of new communities and other "built environments," as well as independent consultants such as architect- and landscape architect-planners. Finally, it includes a heterogenous range of local and county level planners dealing with land use controls in urbanizing areas, and espe-

cially with environmental aspects of such activities as subdivision approval, open space protection and site design, flood plain and conservation zoning, agricultural conservation planning, and private forest management. Each of these activities is often appropriately labelled "environmental planning" by its practitioners--yet there are substantial differences among them in approaches, tools and professional concerns.

One can identify, however, a series of movements in the general environmental field that affect many of these more particular approaches. Some of these movements I touched on in an earlier article in this journal (carolina planning, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1979, pp. 16-21), but for purposes of the present discussion let me summarize them somewhat differently.

LEGACY OF THE SEVENTIES

Six major patterns dominated environmental planning in the 1970s, and shape the present transition to the eighties.

Expansion. Environmental planning expanded dramatically in the 1970s, in every form and by virtually all measures. Previously existing forms of it continued to grow, some new job titles and many new issue areas emerged, and substantial new resources were allocated to practically all activites that are described as environmental planning, in both public and private sectors.

Federalization. Much of this expansion represented a vast enlargement of the role of the federal government, as it responded to public concerns by adding to earlier activities in land and water resource planning and public health protection, and by strengthening planning in such areas as air and water pollution control, toxic material and hazardous waste management, coastal area planning, and other environmental protection programs.

Regulation. In particular, the growth of federal environmental planning included not only enlarged budgets and financial assistance programs (such as for municipal sewage treatment plants) but also the proliferation of federal regulatory authorities over environmental conditions. Whatever the merits of current proposals to change some of these authorities, clearly a large number of new environmental regulatory mandates were created during the past decade, some of which remain unimplemented and others relatively uncoordinated.

Politicization. The expansion and proliferation of environmental planning activities have both resulted from, and brought with them into planning processes, intensified conflict over the appropriate outcomes of environmental planning. New mandates have been added without clear weights relative to old mandates. New agencies' regulations constrain the missions of old agencies. New interest groups have gained equal access to administrative decision-making processes, and potential power, through litigation.

Sophistication. Much more is now known about environmental conditions and hazards than ten years ago. For a growing number of hazards, research and publication have blossomed, measurement has been refined to parts per billion, and innovations in control technology and economic incentives have been developed. Among the results of these trends has been the emergence of "second-generation" planning problems considerably more technical, sophisticated, and difficult to manage than such early problems as lake eutrophication and smog. Current examples include toxic chemicals, hazardous wastes, groundwater pollution, acid rain, trace carcinogens in food, surface mine reclamation, and simply the evaluation of all the relevant information on any substantive problem.

Complication. The combined effect of the five trends above has been to expand, but equally to complicate, the various practices of environmental planning. Each practice has become more technically sophisticated in itself. Relationships between practices--land use control with development planning, pollution control regulation with forest management, hazardous waste cleanup with hazardous waste siting opposition--have enormously complicated the challenge of environmental planning and management. Far more professional effort is now devoted to environmental planning, and undesired proposals can be more easily prevented. By the same token, any plan or management decision that evokes less than an absolute consensus has become far more

Richard Andrews, Professor of Environmental Sciences and Engineering, is the Director of the UNC Institute for Environmental Studies.

Drawing by Heather Barbour

difficult to implement.

CURRENT SHIFT

Several further shifts in these patterns are being attempted by the current administration. The federal role is being contracted, both by central veto authority over new regulations and by substantial cutbacks in budgets and staff. Federal budget cutbacks will reduce state and local efforts funded by federal grants, especially in such areas as municipal waste treatment. The visible reduction of federal enforcement will diminish the incentives for private sector compliance with environmental planning. High interest rates and a poor economic outlook are also reducing activities in environmental development planning, at least for the present.

At the same time, however, many environmental problems continue to exist and to excite public concern. Chemical hazards continue to be identified, both by research and by recognition of irresponsible waste disposal practices. These wastes continue to accumulate, heightening the need for some safe means of disposal. Increasing pollution of both surface and groundwater sources appears to present growing risks to public drinking water. Simple demographics are increasing the magnitudes of some environmental problems. More people are now beginning to reach ages at which environmentally-infuenced disease symptoms emerge. Moreover, population shifts from "frostbelt" to "sunbelt" leave the former with the environmental problems of economic decline (such as abandoned neighborhoods, and insufficient revenues to provide environmental services),even as they inflict the environmental problems of growth on the latter (such as urban sprawl, air pollution, and water shortages).

OUTLOOK FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNERS

The problems will continue. Emphases and priorities may shift, but the needs for environmental planning--both in protecting against hazards and in creatively developing resources--remain central to the health and welfare of American society. Moreover, they are becoming more and more widely recognized as central to other societies as well. Water supply and quality will probably be among the central issues of the eighties both in the U.S. and abroad.

Employment is difficult at present, but will stabilize and continue. The present transition is probably not a reliable indication of the longer term future for environmental planners. If problems continue, so will the demands for their solution--short of a major war or economic catastrophe--and thus the need for people competent to assist in those tasks.

The need for technical competence will increase. The need will involve not just technicians per se, but also planners who have a solid understanding of the relevant environmental sciences, statistics, economic analysis, and the legal and regulatory context of environmental planning. Many environmental planners may also find it more effective to become "specialists with some generality" than the traditional "generalists with a specialty," though this balance deserves debate.

Political conflict may intensify. The issues are becoming more technically sophisticated, but most of the American population is not. Two predictable results are growing public distrust of scientific knowledge and expert authority, and the substitution of "not-in-my-backyard" self-interest for civic-spirited cooperation in the search for solutions. Political friction may also be exacerbated by the relaxation of environmental protection and public resource management under the current administration, by the perception of increasing power of big business and the wealthy over environmental conditions, by further discoveries of hazards by environmental scientists, and by the entry of larger numbers of environmentally sensitized people into age groups that have increased in both political influence and in greater vulnerability to environmental hazards.

New roles are emerging. Most public sector planners in the past have probably spent much of their time not planning as such, but collecting data, implementing policies and programs, processing and making recommendations on permit or variance applications, and providing more general staff support to political officials. These roles will undoubtedly continue for many planners, including many environmental planners. In environmental planning, however, two additional role-needs have begun to emerge. The first is for planners as technical educators of the interested public: professionals who understand the technical and scientific aspects of environmental problems, and can help not only

political officials but also the public at large to understand the problems, the possible solutions, the uncertainties and the consequences of alternative choices. This is a professional approach to planning, but posits the shared teaching and learning of the educator as role model, rather than the authority of the doctor, the advocacy of the lawyer, or the data control of the bureaucrat. The second and related role-need is for planners as facilitators of environmental conflict resolution: professionals who recognize the need for continuous public understanding and acceptance of environmental management decision processes, and know how to design such participatory processes effectively. New sources of theory and method are emerging in these areas which would be valuable to planners, but they are not yet strong in planning curricula.

CONCLUSION

It is both difficult and risky to predict the course of environmental planning in the eighties, especially amid the wrenching conflict of philosophy in the public sector which is now in progress. The future job descriptions, employers and immediate priorities, therefore, are perhaps hardest to foresee. The substantive problems change more slowly, except for those that are suddenly discovered through advances in knowledge and those that are suddenly worsened by withdrawal of government management. The advances in planning theory and methods can also be monitored and developed somewhat independently of the headlines from Washington.

There is much to do in environmental planning in the eighties, both in addressing new needs and in improving the effectiveness of past practice. The greatest present need is to get about the business of planning--planning for the environmental priorities of the next five to ten years--rather than merely reacting to the current turmoil in Washington.

Neighborhood Planning in the Eighties

Throughout the history of modern city planning in the United States the neighborhood has been a major focus of attention. Originally, Clarence Perry presented the neighborhood unit concept, a series of design principles, as a templet for new urban development. The neighborhood was conceived as a means of enhancing feelings of community, assuring both orderly urban development and public safety. Later the neighborhood was the focus of federal programs--such as Model Cities--designed to revitalize neglected urban areas. Currently, the neighborhood is the focus of several public planning programs as well as a unit for privately initiated redevelopment programs.

The term neighborhood planning has come to mean many things to many people. Here the term will be used to refer to planning efforts, either public or private, which focus on the neighborhood as a geographical, social and/or political unit of analysis with the goal of improving overall physical conditions and involving neighborhood residents in the planning and redevelopment process.

Contemporary neighborhood planning emphasizes the conservation and rehabilitation of existing areas through a combination of public and private initiative. It attempts to provide both direction and new resources to improvement efforts as well as to energize the existing resources of the community. Citizen involvement is an important component of these programs, as it develops resident commitment to program objectives. Neighborhood planning programs have successfully addressed a wide variety of problems, including dilapidated housing and public facilities, inadequate public services, and the lack of human services; these efforts deserve continued support.

For the purpose of this discussion a distinction is drawn between publicly and privately initiated neighborhood planning programs, the former sponsored by federal, state or local governments, and the latter primarily by independent neighborhood organizations. Both types of programs, I believe, will undergo significant changes in the eighties.

During the seventies, publicly sponsored neighborhood programs received considerable support from the federal government. Programs like the Community Development Block Grant program (CDBG), Neighborhood Housing Services, and the Neighborhood Self-Help Redevelopment Program provided funding and direction to neighborhood planning. [1] In the eighties, however, federal involvement will diminish. In fact, some neighborhood oriented Federal progams have already been eliminated, including the Neighborhood Self-Help Development Program. Furthermore, the funding levels of surviving neighborhood planning programs will be considerably reduced. Funding for the CDBG Entitlement program, for example, will be reduced by five to ten percent and funding for the Small Cities program will be reduced even more. Neighborhood development activities will be competing with other eligible activities for a smaller pot of funds.

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[1] For a complete list of federal programs that could be used to fund neighborhood planning projects as of 1979, see Neighborhood Oriented Programs of the Federal Government, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

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Changes in regulations governing federal neighborhood oriented programs may have an even greater impact on neighborhood planning in the eighties. The new regulations for the Urban Development Action Grant program (UDAG), for example, no longer require that funds be equally divided among commercial, industrial and neighborhood projects. This means that neighborhood projects will be competing for funding with large commercial development projects. The result will undoubtedly be the funding of fewer neighborhood projects. In addition, citizen participation requirements in the CDBG and other programs are being loosened, thus weakening incentives for involving neighborhood groups in planning programs.

Many of the municipally sponsored neighborhood planning programs--such as those in Atlanta, St. Paul and Denver--were created as a means of satisfying Federal requirements for citizen particiapation. Thus, weakening participation requirements may result in fewer new municipally sponsored programs and will compromise the position of existing programs. Moreover, states will have to assume responsibility for neighborhood programs previously managed by the federal government. Within broad general guidelines, states will be deciding on how funds for programs like Small Cities will be dispersed and how they can be used. Thus, previous funding patterns cannot be assumed.

Privately initiated neighborhood planning programs will also be affected by recent federal actions, yet probably not to the same extent as publicly initiated programs. For instance, terminating the Neighborhood Self-Help Development program will reduce the effectiveness of the neighborhood groups it funded, though they should survive the loss. Terminating this program, however, has considerable symbolic overtones since it was the only HUD program that directly funded neighborhood groups. Privately initiated groups will also suffer from changes in the tax system. Lessening the tax burden on the upper income segment of society reduces the incentive for contributing to foundations and non-profit neighborhood organizations. Less private money may then be available to support neighborhood groups and their activities. Finally, due to large cut-backs in federal funding for human services, neighborhood groups will likely show greater involvement in this area. Independent groups will be trying to pick up the most important services cut by federal budget reductions.

In essence, the environment in which neighborhood planning programs have been operating is drastically changing. If neighborhood planning efforts, both public and private, are to survive, they will have to adapt to these changes. The future effectiveness of neighborhood planning programs depends on how well they adapt.

Allow me to suggest a number of adaptive strategies. First, neighborhood groups must find new sources of funding. For example, the CDBG may fund eligible activities carried out by non-profit neighborhood groups, but securing CDBG funds will require a concerted political effort on the part of neighborhood groups in each urban area. Groups interested in this form of funding will have to develop skills in financial accounting and management to satisfy accountability requirements. A number of non-profit groups, such as The National Association of Neighborhoods, The National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the Center for Community Change provide short courses and/or technical assistance on this topic.

Photo by Jane Buckwalter

Additionally, publicly and privately sponsored groups may rely more on state and municipal funds. A small number of states, including New York and New Jersey, provide funding for neighborhood planning projects, yet, most do not. State support of neighborhood planning activities must be expanded, and a well planned and coordinated political campaign will be necessary for this to happen. Similarly, some cities commit substantial amounts of municipal funds to support both publicly and privately sponsored neighborhood improvement projects. Political pressure must be applied in cities that do not commit local funds to initiate funding programs.

Furthermore, neighborhood groups will need to increase fundraising from private sources in the local community. Along with the traditional local or national foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, the Mott Foundation and National Endowment for the Arts, local businesses should be solicited for contributions.

Neighborhood organizations can also sponsor self-help activities ranging from street fairs to local businesses. Retail, manufacturing and construction businesses are presently being run by neighborhood groups in various parts of the country. These entrepreneurial activities can generate revenues and at the same time further community goals ,such as increasing local employment, and improve the physical environment. These ventures, however, are not for all neighborhood groups. They require a high level of dedication, commitment and satisfaction. Food, housing or other types of cooperatives can also be sponsored by neighborhood groups. These can help to both keep prices down and instill a sense of pride and control in participating members. The National Consumer Co-op Bank can help in providing loans and technical assistance to groups starting cooperatives.

Second, neighborhood groups must adopt new political targets. As states assume a larger role in neighborhood oriented programs, neighborhood advocates will need to establish new contacts, develop supporters, lobby, and engage in other polictial activities at the state level. Statewide coalitions of neighborhood associations are the logical spearhead for these efforts. Policital activity at the municipal level must also be increased to protect existing neighborhood planning programs and to develop new ones. Finally, national political activity is still important. The remaining federal laws and programs supporting neighborhood planning (e.g., the Community Reinvestment Act, Neighborhood Housing Services) must be protected, and new efforts to increase support for neighborhood planning must be launched.

The changes in neighborhood planning in the eighties will undoubtedly alter the role of planners working with these programs. Planners will be involved in indentifying new sources of funds and will need to develop new relationships with state agencies. They will also be called on to help neighborhood groups develop fundraising strategies, financial management procedures, and to devise new local social service programs (e.g., community day care, emergency food programs). Unfortunately, as funds grow short, comprehensive neighborhood planning may become an unaffordable luxury. Planners will be asked to develop specific project plans without a comprehensive neighborhood plan as a guide.

Planners will also have to develop better relations with the local business community (e.g., bankers, developers) since they will be the sponsors of many new neighborhood development projects. Creative new leveraging techniques will have to be developed to interest these groups in neighborhood redevelopment. At the same time planners must help protect the interests of the indigenous community. Physical rehabilitation should help existing residents, not drive them out. Great care must be taken to design an overall program that does not result in displacement. Rent subsidies, agreements with landlords, and educational campaigns can be employed to accomplish this end. Physical rehabilitation of an area can be profitable for the business community and still benefit indigenous residents.

"AS STATES ASSUME A LARGER ROLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORIENTED PROGRAMS, NEIGHBORHOOD ADVOCATES WILL NEED TO ESTABLISH NEW CONTACTS..."

Planners working directly for community groups will have to work harder to maintain effective organizations as financial pressures put new strains on groups and on group members. The tendency for splintering and infighting under stressful conditions must be resisted and collective action encouraged. Finally, in that the poorest areas will have the greatest difficulty adapting to the changes, planners will need to make special efforts to maintain and expand programs in these areas. In particular, self-help programs designed to fill the gap left by federal cutbacks will be necessary. This may include day care, emergency food and shelter, job training and other human service programs.

If there is a contemporary approach that exemplifies many of the major elements of neighborhood planning in the eighties, it is the Neighborhood Housing Services program. This program brings together local citizens, bankers and city officals to work on neighborhood improvement. It relies on a minimum of federal funding and a maximum of citizen participation and self-help. In addition, the local financial community plays a larger role than in other approaches to neighborhood development. Neighborhood Housing Services emphasizes cooperation, local initiative, and the mobilization of existing community resources. These will be the major elements of neighborhood planning programs in the eighties.

The era of relying on federal initiatives in neighborhood planning is over. Other than the Urban Enterprise program now being discussed --which is narrowly focused on business development--no new federal neighborhood programs can be expected in the near future. New initiatives will need to be designed at the state, metropolitan and neighborhood levels to continue upgrading the quality of life in urban neighborhoods. This will require an organized and concerted political effort by both planners and citizens, and the development of creative

new ways to involve the private sector in neighborhood development.

Transportation Planning in the Eighties

The Reagan Administration is clearly effecting major changes in how urban transportation services are delivered and priced. Gone is the emphasis on energy conservation increases. Transit operating subsidies will end after fiscal year 1984 for cities over 50,000. A host of regulations, including the controversial 504 regulations requiring wheelchair lifts on buses, are being eliminated. And urban rail starts have been stopped.

It is tempting to view these changes as fundamental policy changes; abberations produced by the election of a conservative president. If this were so, then it might be possible to dismiss some of these changes as only temporary, to be rectified by some future election. However, this view ignores the fact that pressures have been mounting for years to make such policy changes. In fact, it is perhaps more accurate to view the Reagan urban transportation policies as another stage in the continuing evolution of transportation policy.

An example might clarify this perspective. Urban transit policy at the federal level dates back to the early 1960s. The fundamental transit legislation was passed in 1964 at a time when market failures were forcing cities to take over bus and rail systems. Embedded in this 1964 legislation were a number of provisions protecting against potential adverse affects of federal involvement. The most controversial of these provisions is the labor protection clause, better known as Section 13c.[1] While many of these provisions made sense in 1964, they became onerous in the late 1970s, and pressure mounted to free local decision makers from the "burdens" of such federal restrictions. It is to these pressures that the Reagan administration is reacting, but it is fair to assume that these pressures would have eventually received attention regardless of who was president.

The cutoff of transit operating subsidies is another example of the evolutionary nature of transit policy. This change is the most critical aspect of the Reagan urban transit policies, yet it represents a continuation of the debate over the federal role in transit. Prior to the beginning of federal transit operating subsidies in 1974, there was much debate about whether the federal government should subsidize operating costs in addition to capital costs. Opponents of operating subsidies argued that federal subsidies would raise labor contract demands and increase operating costs, while proponents cited the enormous financial pressures already facing cities. While such arguments defy clear answers, the years since 1974 have shown that the subsidies received by cities have indeed come at a price. The federal requirements and restrictions that have accompanied operating assistance have certainly not encouraged local transit decision makers to be more innovative and creative. One might, therefore, view the cutoff of federal operating subsidies as the end of an experiment in federal policy. Regardless, it is but one more step in the debate over what role the federal government should play in providing transit service.

While the Reagan policies are part of a continuing evolutionary process, they will result in direct impacts on the provision of transportation services. These impacts in turn are changing the roles of planners.

One obvious impact is the greater reliance on the private sector to provide services in a less regulated environment. With less money, transit authorities will no longer be able to provide such services as "shopper specials," some express routes to industrial parks, and service in low-density neighborhoods. In many cases, the private sector will provide such services independently of the transit authorities; the latter will follow the lead of Tidewater Regional Transit in Norfolk and contract with less-costly private operators to replace unproductive portions of their service areas. In short, the role of the public sector will likely diminish while that of the private sector increases.

"ARE WE PREPARED TO SAY THAT SOME PERSONS SIMPLY CANNOT EXPECT TO RECEIVE TRANSIT SERVICE?"

The question, however, is what happens in cases of market failure? If the private sector finds some services to be unprofitable, will those services simply vanish? This situation is the basis upon which public takeover of transit first occurred. Are we prepared to say that some persons simply cannot expect to receive transit service? Will this policy change when gasoline supplies dwindle? These are questions which will remain central to the debate over urban transportation policy and which will persist long after the Reagan Administration.

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[1] Section 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, as amended, stipulates that, conditional to receiving federal aid, transit systems must sign an agreement with the Department of Labor assuring that no workers will be adversely affected as a result of receiving such aid.

Another legacy of the Reagan policies will likely be a renewed concern over facility construction. In administration cost-cutting measures, the starts of new fixed-rail transit facilities have been halted. Rail systems are costly to build and are always controversial politically, yet they are needed in many heavily used corridors. One can expect that there will someday be a recognition that we have fallen behind in the construction and upgrading of both heavy rail and light rail facilities, and federal policy will again shift to remedy this problem.

The new era of transportation policy has considerable impacts on planners. The essence of these impacts is simple: transportation planning is becoming more management oriented.

Like the overall change in transportation policy, this new role for planners is not a surprise. The 1950s and 1960s were a time of infrastructure development. Highways, airports, and local streets were being rapidly built. These projects created challenges to planners: how large a demand should these facilities accommodate; where should they be located; how could unwanted social and environmental effects be ameliorated? These were difficult issues, and they were squarely faced in city after city by planners who were simultaneously developing the tools and techniques which these problems required. Planners learned to forecast travel demand, to load networks, and to estimate vehicle emissions. These techniques were useful; however, the problems have changed.

The new problems facing transportation planners are quite diverse. First, they are no longer primarily demand-oriented; they are very much supply-oriented. Cost constraints are forcing transit planners to determine how best to cut deficits, not how best to meet new demand. Planners are also forced to examine roadway networks to determine which road segments can be downgraded. In these and other instances the planner's focus has shifted toward developing a better understanding of how a system can be operated more efficiently or even at a reduced level of service.

Another way of looking at this change in roles is to view the planner as part manager. At first glance, this shift in roles may not appeal to some planners, for it implies a maintenance function as opposed to a change-agent function. However, this management function is not without great challenges. Perhaps the most challenging aspect of this managerial role is that of coordinator. Assuming the proliferation of private sector and public sector providers of transportation services, the planner will face an increased challenge in helping to make these services useful in a coordinated system. This task may prove to be far more appealing than demand forecasting.

Two related and important aspects of the role of the planner must be underscored. First, there will be new clients for the planner's skills. Second, the private vs. public sector distinction will be less important or noticeable . Planners will find public sector job opportunities diminished but the private sector opportunities increased. There will be more genuine private-public partnerships. The role of the planner will become more generic, less specific to the public sector.

To solve the new problems facing the planner, new skills and tools are necessary. For the sake of convenience, these may be considered in two groups: quantitative and non-quantitative.

Many of the existing quantitative tools of the transportation planner will retain their utility. Demographic analysis, network analy-

sis, statistical analysis and impact analysis will all be useful. In addition, planners will need to know more about financial analysis, including pricing theory, regulatory theory, and marginal cost analysis. These skills will enable the planner to address the major questions of cost-effectiveness of various service components. For example, where and when should a transit system reduce service so as to reduce its deficit with minimal impacts on mobility? Such questions demand an analytical understanding of marginal costs and revenues.

While quantitative skills will remain essential to many effective planners, the scale at which these skills are applied is likely to change. The explosive growth of microcomputers is forever altering the relationship between people and computers. No longer will it be necessary to depend on large, complex computers, and more importantly, on persons who can communicate with them. Instead, many of the analytical tools needed by transportation planners will be met by small in-house computers. This change in technology may be a difficult one for some planners in the short run, but in the long run it will greatly expand and enhance the capabilities of transportation planners.

The non-quantitative skills required will be much the same as those now required of planners. Communication skills and implemantation skills head the list. The role of the planner as coordinator and manager of transportation services will heighten the need for the planner to deal with a wide range of constituencies, to facilitate action, to present concepts, and to identify alternatives.

Despite the changes which planning is undergoing, there remains one important constant, a skill which undoubtedly will retain its value. The planner has always been part visionary and part protector of the public good. Although at times chastized for being impractical or obstructionist, the planner nonetheless serves a vital public function in pointing out both inequities and opportunities. While the exigencies of fiscal constraints are making planners more management-oriented, the need for vision will persist.

Public Participation in the Eighties

"We are experiencing a new American Revolution. It is a revolution of aroused citizens, concerned about the quality of our environment, demanding action by government and industry and taking action themselves." (U.S. EPA, 1972) This animated quote comes from a 1972 booklet published by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as a citizen's guide for participation in environmental actions, and is shown here to illustrate the very different government climate of just a decade ago. During the 1970s ,EPA, along with most federal agencies, began to require public or citizen participation with the federal programs they were funding. In fact, by 1978, most agencies receiving federal funds were using public participation in their planning activities.

Public participation includes all agency activities which meet goals of constituency involvement. These activities run the gamut from periodic public hearings to frequent advisory committee meetings.

Public participation in the 1970s became an integral part of federal, state and local government programs. It took many forms, but its goals always included involving citizens in planning and/or decision making. For the most part, public participation was required by the federal government for projects, plans and activities which were supported by federal dollars. Thus its existence was mandated.

At first glance, continued strong public participation requirements in the eighties could be considered highly unlikely. Gone are the ambitious mandates of the last decade. In this period of extensive fiscal constraint, there is widespread speculation that citizen participation programs are among the most vulnerable areas of federal involvement. However, citizen participation came about as a means to satisfy serious governmental needs; these needs continue, and will outlast the political winds of a single administration. In fact, even in the absence of the 1970s requirements, citizen participation will continue as a significant activity of public agencies. The reasons for citizen involvement are just as strong as ever.

Earlier action by the federal government to encourage participatory citizen involvement came about in response to widespread political activism in the 1960s. Citizens were then demanding a voice in government at all levels. The increased centralization of power in Washington was one major impetus: people began feeling that the size of the federal machinery prevented it from being accountable. Further, citizen concerns mushroomed on certain issues: widespread recognition of environmental problems, demands for minority participation flamed by the civil rights movement, anger against the broken promises of urban renewal, defacto citizen involvement in community enterprises (such as health services), and citizen mobilization against American foreign policy.

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As a result, mandatory citizen participation requirements were issued by virtually all federal agencies. These began with the poverty and urban renewal programs of the mid-1960s, and became routine in environmental and health legislation of the early 1970s. The book Citizen Participation was distributed in 1978 by the Community Services Administration to provide a reference of requirements for public participation in all federal agencies. The range of methods catalogued is considerable, and a variety of implementation techniques are also included. The book serves as a guide for both staff and citizens, and is an impressive attempt by the federal government to expand the effectiveness of the public participation mandate. The seventies response to participation demands was considerable.

Drawing by Heather Barbour

In the 1980s, the characters of new forces pushing all levels of government suggest no relaxation of citizen demand for significant involvement. As rapid changes occur in administration of federal programs, and as human services, transportation and environmental protection budgets feel the huge loss in federal funding, citizens will demand to exercise some control over remaining programs. They will demand knowledge about the consequences of losing programs and services which are cut. Further, as economic and environmental priorities conflict, government will find its plans paralyzed without recourse to citizen involvement. Witness the strong citizen reaction to nuclear power plant construction and the siting of hazardous waste disposal sites. Further, the promised shift of power from federal to state and local governments will bring more citizens closer to the sources of major governmental decision-making, and presumably open avenues for direct participation.

To find out how practicing public participation staff see the future of citizen involvement, I spoke with nine federal, state, and local government people. All but one have had the responsibility of coordinating their agency's citizen advisory committees or public hearings. That one person has done research within his state agency on effectiveness of citizen advisory committees.

The overwhelming theme from these interviews is that public participation has been crucial to agency programs in giving them constituency viewpoints. Participation has helped create better understanding of specific programs and has made program implementation more successful. For these reasons, agencies will continue to use citizen involvement even if it is no longer mandated from Washington. Since most staff members assigned to public participation have other duties as well, the lack of federal funding will not necessarily affect the agencies' capacities for participation.

Those interviewed believed in the value of citizen involvement. Numerous studies of public participation indicate that the practice is effective if staff believe in it. It sometimes requires a thick skin to go out to your constituency groups and receive verbal abuse and misunderstanding, and on occasion engage in shouting matches. My experience, though, shows that sincerity and perseverence will ultimately be rewarded.

CONCLUSION

The trend of the future looks as though public participation will not be a mandated requirement for receipt of federal funds. This will result in fewer agencies initiating public participation in their programs. However, agencies that have used it successfully will continue to do so. Those that grudgingly used public participation will be relieved to put their efforts elsewhere.

Citizen involvement itself, however, will continue to be an important phenomenon. Citizen groups have learned how to work with the system successfully, have become sophisticated about educating their fellow citizens, and have established working relationships with many agencies. This has been a rewarding experience, with positive gratification for those involved. It will continue.

Basic motivations for citizen involvement remain. "The American people have grown increasingly distrustful of public institutions ...because of the devastating effects of inflation and the enormous growth of computers with the consequent inroads into private life." (Langham, 1980) Thus, during the eighties, citizens will continue to seek a voice in government. Although the federal government may no longer be responsive in the form of mandating public participation, many federal, state, and local agency staff will continue to be responsive to the public.

The future of public participation will depend, as it did in the sixties, on how many citizens express their desires. The push came from outspoken citizens in the last two decades, and will continue to come from them in the eighties. Responding to this push will be left in the hands of state and local governments.

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North Carolina's Lead Regional Organizations in the Eighties

Lead Regional Organizations (LROs) are voluntary associations of city and county governments working together to solve mutual problems in a defined, multi-county area. Based on their work and interests, some are organized as regional planning commissions, economic development commissions, combined planning and economic development commissions, joint planning organizations arranged with local planning boards, and finally, regional councils of local officials, or councils of governments. There are 18 such organizations in North Carolina, designated by letters A-R as well as by name. LROs are created by local governments and serve under state enabling legislation to coordinate functional planning activities within the region. They also serve as a forum for local governments to discuss problems of regional significance and to establish priorities for state and federal funding in the region. Where the local need is identified, LROs also provide direct services to member governments.

As a perspective on the future, the North Carolina Lead Regional Organizations Directors' Association in early 1980 began its own effort to identify roles which regional councils could play in issues of major importance to the state and its local governments. During 1980, three subcommittees of this group met and produced ideas, some representing a continuation of present services and others representing new directions and emphases to meet changing times and conditions. Specifically, the committees addressed the question, "What are important needs of local governments in North Carolina for the eighties in which LROs can and should provide assistance?" The resulting study effort produced a draft paper entitled "Roles of North Carolina's Lead Regional Organizations in the 1980s." This draft paper is intended as a statement of priority issues and concerns for individual LRO Boards to consider as they seek to operate with fewer federal mandates and greater independence in developing programs in the eighties. The following is a summary of LRO draft findings in several areas: physical planning, community development, economic development, human resources planning, and technical assistance to local governments.

PHYSICAL PLANNING

LROs can assist local governments with the physical planning problems of the eighties and help them to identify issues and situations requiring state and federal assistance. Major elements in this physical planning category include growth management, water resources, transportation, and waste management planning.

As part of the sunbelt, local communities in North Carolina will be increasingly concerned about growth management. Transportation, housing, and energy costs require greater attention to the physical layout of communities. Growing competition between farm, urban, and suburban uses of land bring growing pressures on local governments to maintain viable plans and tools for growth management. With the concern about economy in government, small counties, and municipalities will turn increasingly to expertise of the LRO--which is accountable to them and can be shared with other units of government on a cost-effective basis.

For example, in the area of housing, LROs have the data and planning expertise for refining local means to improve housing and implement housing plans. LROs can assist local governments in such matters as reviewing development plans, growth management tools, and operating procedures to conserve and promote greater community efficiency and self-sufficiency. LROs can act as clearinghouses for new technology, passing it on to local governments as applicable. LRO assistance to land use and land-related planning efforts of local governments and planning boards has potential as a key area of activity to encourage positive changes in traditional values regarding land ownership, land stewardship, and better land records and tax management. Finally, farmland preservation should also figure strongly in future cooperative local and regional plannng efforts enhanced by the LROs.

In water resources planning, the need for local, regional, and statewide cooperation will become critical by the end of the eighties, unless corrective steps are taken soon. Some problems--like rivers or water bodies they involve--are larger than a single region, often encompassing expanded roles for state government in managing water resources. State officials

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and water management experts realize that local units of government are major actors, as operators of waste treatment facilities, regulators of growth and development, users and retailers of water for commerce, industry, and drinking. A coordinated approach to local activities is essential.

Working with state government, LROs can help local governments address key water problems of the eighties. These include inadequate supplies to meet competing demands, fragmented planning and management, with related disorderly competition and environmental degradation of sources, inadequate flow maintenance, and conflicts between land use and water integrity. LROs' strength in this area include their ability to coordinate local and state levels, their capacity to provide technical services and their understanding of local resources, institutions, and problems which influence the management of water resources. There is a clear need for local governments through their LROs to assess water resource problems, to plan for water resource development, and to work together and with the state to manage those resources. LROs' understanding of local resources, problems and institutions can be used to develop cost-effective and environmentally sound management decisions.

In the transportation field, current limitations on revenues, the need for energy conservation, and increasing costs lead to growing need for local governments to identify critical transportation priorities. Existing metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs), as designated by the U.S. Department of Transportation, provide an opportunity for relating local plans to transportation programming. However, current MPO boundaries are restricted to urbanized areas. LROs provide an essential service to smaller localities. LROs can help match available resources and perceived needs; link human service, physical and transportation planning; and utilize lessons from alternative and innovative transportation plans and programs used elsewhere in the country. The LRO boards are in an excellent position to provide dispassionate analysis and to help in local priority setting, thus balancing competing demands with limited transportion resources.

The management of solid and hazardous wastes is a final major physical planning concern. New EPA requirements, increased costs for landfills, increasing economic attractiveness of resource recovery, citizen concern about siting of landfills and protection from improper hazardous waste disposal, and higher transportation/collection costs make this area a priority for the eighties. Many aspects of this problem are multi-county and require intergovernmental cooperation. LROs can promote local government sharing of expertise to do routing and collection studies, analyze landfilling and other waste disposal alternatives (e.g., resource recovery), undertake multicounty studies to determine optimal landfill or resource recovery locations and transportation modes, and assist in public education.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

LROs can provide much assistance in community development by searching out methods to reduce the effects of erosion in federal aid, facilitating local government efficiency and productivity, and helping local governments maintain a safe, decent, sanitary housing inventory for all citizens. In the eighties, local member governments may need to consider asking their LROs to provide even greater assistance with: annexation feasibility studies; local and regional capital improvement planning; preparation of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) applications; administration of CDBG programs when project funds or time frames are limited; and applications of computer and systems analysis for more efficient municipal operations.

Photo by Priscilla Cobb

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As North Carolina continues to develop amidst the "Sunbelt", Lead Regional Organizations can help local governments and their citizens prepare for this growth and guide it in appropriate locally determined directions. Specific areas where LROs can serve include: preparing ecnonomic development and balanced growth plans, including needs analyses and the setting of economic priorities; compiling data for economic development initiatives and grant assistance; undertaking regional and local industrial recruitment, better enabling substate regions to attract a "fair share" of overall state industrial growth; identifying regional alternatives to large individual expenses (e.g., regional capital facilities, regional parks, etc.) which have a major impact on local taxes and fiscal integrity and; focusing on solutions to growing housing problems--a key to future economic development.

HUMAN RESOURCES PLANNING

The growing limitations on funds for human resource programs and the increase in local dependency make this a critical area, especially for counties. The intergovernmental nature of LROs--its vertical integration of levels of government and its horizontal integration of agencies in the regions--will continue to be important. As block grant programs begin to provide greater flexibility, LROs can help by: supplementing a county's own limited staff in specialized areas; promoting volunteerism and the development of non-tax and private non-profit resources; cultivating a closer partnership between public and private providers of human services and; increasing the cost-effectiveness of programs and interagency coordination, through the establishment of human resource departments and interagency councils where appropriate. LROs may also undertake traditional activities, such as monitoring and evaluation of multi-county programs and assistance in writing local human service plans.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The eighties promise to be a decade of limited public resources, both in federal funding and local taxes. Local governments will need to cooperate and use the expertise of their LROs and other service organizations (e.g., the League of Municipalities and the Association of County Commissioners) to yield the greatest benefit from their limited local resources. LROs employ specialists that many of their member governments cannot afford on a full-time basis. Because of their contact with many governments, LROs can transfer and build upon the experience of one government in assisting another. LROs can foster coordination and bring about a sharing of resources to meet the needs of all a region's local governments. Although the assistance LROs provide varies with board policy, budgets, staff expertise and other factors, many of the areas of technical assistance are suited to contractual arrangements between the LRO and member governments when a significant amount of time is required. Key services which LROs may provide in a decade of limited resources include increased local government staff training, regional purchasing arrangements and assistance with the state purchasing, regional investment pools, insurance and risk management studies, position classification and pay plans, organization and management studies, and administrative manuals.

CONCLUSION

The eighties will be a period of significant change in lifestyles and people's expectations of government. Government will be expected to deal with increasing problems of growth management, energy scarcity, complex human resources and environmental integrity. Lead Regional Organizations can provide consultative assistance to local governments in finding partial solutions to these growing problems. Lead Regional Organizations will be needed to develop intergovernmental solutions, based on the interdependence of the levels of government and of city, suburban and rural dwellers as everything grows "closer" and society becomes more interested in centralized government. The LRO in its unique role as local clearinghouse and coordinator can serve best as the catalyst that: promotes an interchange of information, ideas and experiences within a region and fosters the mutual growth and development of local governments through their communication and cooperation with one another.

Human Services Planning in the Eighties

With the back-drop of recent legislative and executive actions under the Reagan administration, it is all too tempting to conclude that human services planning in the public sector has no future. While it is true that many of the planning institutions and vehicles in human services (e.g., HSAs, Title XX, Community Mental Health Systems Act) have either been eliminated or emasculated under the new philosophy guiding the national administration, planning as a function and responsibility is not so easily dismissed, or discarded.

Predicting the future of human services planning demands some initial agreement as to the meaning of the enterprise. As a process, human services planning has been viewed primarily as an application of the rational model: problem analysis, needs assessment, establishment of goals and objectives, analysis of alternatives, program implementation, and evaluation. This view of planning has been termed a population-based approach which,

> ... determines health (human service) needs and establishes resource requirements based upon an assessment of risk levels and health status of a given population. The determination of need is derived solely from attributes of the population, initially ignoring all existing resources. (Tannen, 1980, 128)

Planning in human services is also a reflection of social values. The recognition and definition of social problems, limits on "reasonable and acceptable" intervention strategies, and criteria for program evaluation all implicitly incorporate dominant social values. In a pluralistic democracy, human services planning is usually forced to deal with competing and conflicting social values: efficiency, equity,

individualism, civitas, free-market, social justice.

In practice, human services planning has been primarily characterized as regulation of resource allocation. Regulation as a planning strategy is primarily geared toward controlling growth, not at promoting activity. (Tannen, 1980) Serving as a mechanism to allocate limited resources on some "rational" basis has lead to a planning approach which,

> ...attempts to match the supply of health (human service) resources with the demand for health (human) services. The objective of this process is to accommodate demand in the most efficient manner possible, and it relies heavily on service-to-popluation ratios. (Tannen 1980, p. 127)

This practice of planning for resource allocation is inherently conflictual. As the resource base available for allocation shrinks, greater conflict arises among special interest groups advocating competing programs.

"PERHAPS THE TIME HAS COME FOR PLANNERS TO BEGIN TO DEVELOP ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS AS AN ESSENTIAL TOOL FOR REALIZATION OF PLANNING IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HUMAN SERVICES PROGRAMS."

While attempting to function in this environment, human service planners have typically been responsible for planning, but have had no authority to assure that decisions made during the planning process are actually carried out. As staff/advisors to administrative and legislative decision-makers, planners have effectively been relegated to the fringes of policy and program decision-making in human services.

With this background on past experience in the field, some future directions in human services planning become apparent. The planning function in public human services will probably not change substantially over the next ten years. The visibility of planning and planning institutions will fluctuate with the philosophy dominant in the Federal Executive at various times. Planning will continue even if called by other names (e.g., reorganization, realignment or redistribution of responsibility, etc.).

Ironically, even while the institutional mechanisms which have supported planning during the previous ten years are dismantled, the amount of planning actually being done may increase. As a generalization, the amount of planning activity may be inversely correlated with the resources available to support programmatic interventions -- a situation directly analagous to the family budget. The planning which does take place, however, will probably only be conducted to a very limited extent by those who would define themselves as planners. Instead, the plans will be conceived and carried out by decision-makers.

Planners as a professional group will be highly restrained in their conception and definition of professional practice. The majority of planners will function in roles limited to technician-trustee or trustee delegate in which they adopt the goals of some power elite or elected official and serve as technical advisors regarding realization of objectives identified by their sponsoring group. (Rabinovitz, 1970)

The prospects for planners qua planners is fairly limited. Some entrepreneurial planners will undoubtedly build substantial careers as consultants primarily functioning to provide an aura of legitimation and objectivity to decisions already made by decision-making authorities. The vast majority of planners will rely upon their knowledge and experience in substantive program areas for jobs, rather than upon planning skills and expertise per se. This will be a trans-substantive basis for professional practice. (Hemmens, et al. 1978)

Planners may gradually tire of the advisor/staff technician role that dominates professional education and conceptions of the "planner." Careers as administrators, managers and even elected officials in which planners may function as brokers, mobilizers and leaders in the actual decision-making process should have ever increasing appeal for those who prefer implementation over incantation and impact over intent.

Administration is consistently portrayed as encompassing planning as one of its major responsibilities. Perhaps the time has come for planners to begin to develop administrative skills as an essential tool for realization of planning in the administration of human service programs.

The notion of planners as administrators and decision-makers in the arena of human services administration represents a fundamental challenge to the perspectives and philosophies dominating the traditional rubrics of professional planning education. Educated technicians who serve at the behest and beckoning of decision-makers are too far removed from the workings of human services programs, politics, and policies to significantly affect their organization and functioning. Planners who expect to influence policy and programmatic decisions must also be able to budget, supervise, organize, control, delegate and direct those organizations which are to implement the

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plans. Planners have to stand ready to decide, not simply advise, and to take direct heat for decisions rather than seek shelter in traditional staff positions.

CONCLUSION

The shock which is still reverberating throughout the human services community as the result of the Reagan administration's "safety-net" approach may result in benefits to some of those professional groups most affected. Program planners and evaluators in human services have been repeatedly criticized for their irrelevance, not entirely without justification. The professional insecurity which has resulted from recent changes in funding and eligibility for various human services programs may force planners to realistically assess their professional identities. Self-examination may focus on the function and process of program planning and evaluation, the role of the planner in program implementation and decision making, and the professional education of planners. With luck, we may arrive at a more realistic and operational view of planning. If so, the benefits to both the profession and the society it is to serve will far outweigh the current discomfort.

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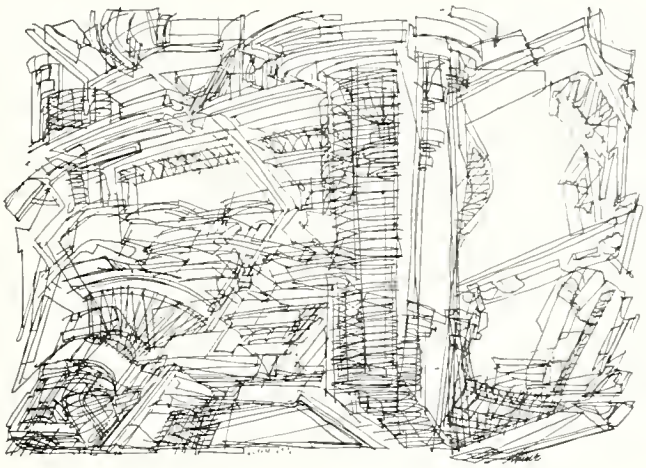

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Richard D. Ducker

1981 Planning Legislation in North Carolina and Other Southeastern States

Author's Note:
All of the legislation mentioned in this article was enacted prior to August 1, 1981, during a regular session of the state legislature in one of the five states. The regular legislative session in every state except South Carolina had adjourned by that date. The article does not refer to any legislation considered in any special session.

State legislatures convened this spring in North Carolina and four neighboring states--Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia. This article outlines some of the legislation enacted in these five states that will affect planning practice or be of interest to planners.

The 1981 North Carolina General Assembly departed from the state's traditional policy of noninterference in local government land-use regulation by providing a means to override local zoning restrictions on group care homes and hazardous waste disposal sites. In other significant legislation it authorized cities to participate in the federal Urban Development Action Grant prgram; improved the state's coastal, environmental, and historic preservation laws; placed renewed emphasis on housing; and authorized fire protection requirements for existing high-rise buildings.

The Virginia General Assembly moved to preserve farming and protect farm and forestry land. It also extended the influence of the Uniform Statewide Building Code and began regulating time-share developments. The Tennessee legislature enacted a new permitting process for major energy projects and new legislation concerning conservation easements. It also amended statutes that affect state housing, industrial development, mining, hazardous waste, and energy conservation programs. The South Carolina legislature dealt with the disposal of radioactive wastes and amended South Carolina's zoning enabling legislation. Georgia passed a new Downtown Development Authorities Law.

HAZARDOUS AND RADIOACTIVE WASTE

For the second straight year, the North Carolina General Assembly gave substantial attention to waste management legislation. Last year, after a legislative study commission held preliminary hearings on waste disposal, the Governor's Task Force on Hazardous Waste Management was created to make recommendations on state policy. Chapter 704 of the North Carolina Session Laws[1] adopts most of the governor's waste disposal proposals as developed by the Task Force in 1980. One purpose of the law is to help commercial operators develop landfills and facilities for storing, transporting, processing, treating, recovering and disposing of hazardous and low-level radioactive wastes.

The Waste Management Act requires all hazardous and low-level radioactive waste disposal sites to be owned by the state, and authorizes the use of eminent domain to acquire such sites. The state may in turn lease the property to a waste disposal firm for the life of the disposal facility.

To attract private operators to the hazardous and low-level radioactive waste disposal business, an assortment of incentives and subsidies have been made available to licensed commercial operators. Operators may now enjoy accelerated depreciation, special corporate

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[1] Throughout the article, "Chapter" or "Ch." refer to the Chapter number of acts as they appear in the 1981 North Carolina Session Laws, the 1981 Tennessee Public Acts, or the 1981 Virginia Acts. Similarly, "P." refers to the Page number of acts as they appear in the 1981 Georgia Laws. "No." refers to the ratification number of acts. Where acts had not been compiled or assigned numbers at the time of my research, I have referred to them by the appropriate bill number.

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franchise tax deductions, and use of industrial revenue bonds on certain waste facilities.

During the public discussions before the Act was passed, some local governments were concerned that if a disposal facility were located nearby, they would face heavy costs of providing emergency services and conducting environmental monitoring. As a result of this concern, the Act permits local governments to impose privilege license taxes on disposal operators to recover these costs.

One of the Act's most important provisions grants the state authority to override any local ordinance that prohibits or has the effect of prohibiting the establishment or operation of a hazardous or low-level radioactive disposal facility. The decision whether to override exclusionary local ordinance provisions will be made by the governor after hearing the recommendations of the Waste Management Board. Both the governor's decision and the board's recommendation must be based on findings of fact that establish the public necessity of the facility. The governor's order will not necessarily invalidate all local ordinance provisions governing site development and disposal-facility operating standards. Rather, the Act appears to leave room for requirements imposed by local ordinance that are not incompatible with comparable state rules, regulations and permit conditions.

"NORTH CAROLINA'S HAZARDOUS WASTE LEGISLATION, VIRGINIA'S FARM PROTECTION LAWS, GEORGIA'S DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES ACT, AND TENNESSEE'S ENERGY LEGISLATION ALL BREAK SOME NEW GROUND."

The emphasis in South Carolina this spring was on the control of radioactive wastes. Legislative interest had been sparked by the increasing use of a site in Barnwell, South Carolina to dispose of low-level radioactive wastes. Until recently this site was accepting 85% of the nation's low-level radioactive wastes, prompting the governor in 1979 to announce a 50% reduction in the amount of wastes accepted at Barnwell. Consistent with this theme, the South Carolina General Assembly this spring passed House Resolution 3011. This announced the state's intention to encourage the distribution of disposal burdens more uniformly among the states, by participating in the federal Low-Level Radioactive Waste Policy Act. The federal Act provides that beginning in 1986, a disposal site may refuse to accept wastes from any state that is not a party to an interstate compact governing the distribution of low-level radioactive wastes.

Other South Carolina legislation (No. 46) provides for state officials to consult with the federal government on the establishment of an away-from-reactor (off-site) storage facility for high-level radioactive wastes, particularly spent nuclear fuels produced by out-of-state utilities. The Act also provides that any storage facility located in South Carolina must be approved by a joint resolution passed by both houses of the General Assembly.

FAMILY CARE HOMES

In North Carolina the passage of Chapter 565 capped a long struggle by health care interests to free "family care" or "group" homes from the exclusionary effects of local zoning ordinances. Although the principle of "deinstitutionalization" has enjoyed broad support, community family care and group homes have often encountered stiff neighborhood opposition, which has been reflected in restrictive zoning provisions. Chapter 565 makes a family care home a residential use of property for zoning purposes and a permissible use in all districts that allow residences. These homes may not be required to secure a conditional-use permit, a special-use permit, or a use varinace. But local governments may prohibit these homes within a half-mile of one another. Chapter 565 voids private deed restrictions and similar instruments that would forbid family care homes in residential subdivisions.

Further, Chapter 565 restricts the number of handicapped residents in a family care home to six, exclusive of support and supervisory personnel. The Act defines handicapped persons to include those with physical, emotional, or mental disabilities, excluding mentally ill persons who are dangerous to others. The definition does not appear to include convicted criminals, juvenile delinquents or runaways.

North Carolina's family care legislation contrasts with that of Virginia. In Virginia "group homes" need not be treated as single-family residences; rather, local zoning regulations must "provide for the dispersion of group homes in an appropriate zoning district or districts." (Va. Code Sec. 15.1-486.2 (1980).)Chapter 611, enacted this spring, adds the underlined words above. The statutes now suggest that the dispersion requirement may be met by allowing group homes in a single zoning district. Virginia legislation also permits conditions not required of other single-family dwellings to be imposed on group homes in certain circumstances.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION

One of the few current federal programs designed specifically to stimulate urban economic development is the Urban Development Action Grant Program (UDAG). Relatively few North Carolina cities have participated in the program, in part because of questions about whether

they have statutory and constitutional authority to participate in and package the wide variety of development projects that the UDAG program funds. This year's legislation modestly broadens cities' power in this regard (Chapter 865). It authorizes cities to make loans or grants to developers to carry out the economic development purposes of UDAG with federal or local funds. It also permits cities to dispose of UDAG projects by private sale.

For certain downtown revitalization and economic development purposes, however, the authority granted by the North Carolina General Statutes (which typically apply statewide) and the North Carolina Constitution remains inadequate. In contrast to some states' laws, North Carolina law does not sanction the establishment of local public nonprofit development corporations or development authorities with power to issue tax-exempt revenue bonds. In other states, such corporations may finance the construction of shell buildings and the development of industrial parks, buy and and sell land free of public bidding requirements and narrow public purpose restrictions, and generally assume a partnership role with private enterprise.

In Georgia, local public nonprofit development authorities play a major role in local economic development and enjoy broad authority to undertake and manage development projects of an entrepreneurial nature where the public interest is thought to warrant it. These authorities are deemed organized for charitable purposes; are exempt from a variety of federal, state, and local taxes; and are authorized to issue tax-exempt bonds to finance various development projects.

In an important action, the Georgia General Assembly expanded the role of these development authorities, adding to their powers under existing enabling legislation and establishing a new form of development authority designed to operate in central business areas. The "Downtown Development Authorities Law" (P. 1744) is intended to enhance development in a downtown development area designated by a city council. The Act contrasts with existing legislation in its specific geographic focus. It is also the first statewide law that permits the tax-exempt financing of private retail and office facilities, a critical power in influencing downtown redevelopment. The legislation further provides streamlined procedures for establishing and managing the development authority.

Comparatively little emphasis is placed on accountability to the public. Without holding a public hearing, a city or town council may establish a downtown development authority by resolution. No planning study or economic assessment is required before a central business district in which the authority operates is designated. Of the seven directors appointed by the city or town council, at least four must have an economic interest in the redevelopment or revitalization of the downtown area. The municipal governing board has the right to disapprove any revenue bonds, notes, or other financial obligations proposed for issuance by the development authority within 60 days after it receives notice of the proposal. Under the new law, municipalities may not pledge their general taxing power to guarantee the repayment of obligations assumed by the downtown development authority.

ENERGY

One important legislative action was Tennessee's Major Energy Project Act of 1981 (Ch. 131). This Act simplifies and shortens the permitting process for major development projects and works to ensure that federal, state and local administrative agencies cooperate in eliminating duplicate procedures and requirements. Supported by the state's major utilities, the Act is reminiscent of power plant-siting legislation that first appeared in some states in the 1970s. Though it does not provide for one-stop permitting, it takes a major step in that direction.

Chapter 131 defines a "major energy project" as a project that is in the state's interest, costs at least $100 million, and is likely to reduce the state's dependence on imported energy products. The governor formally designates such a project by executive order and selects a "joint review team" to review it. The team may include representatives from each federal, state, and local agency that must approve some feature of the development project. An agency that participates on the review team retains its authority to approve or disapprove the project on its merits. But all governmental agencies are bound by the terms of the Act to abide by a "project decision schedule" developed by the project review team.

One unusual feature of the Act is that the project review schedule may be used to shorten or change procedural requirements specified by state statute, administrative regulation, or local ordinance. Thus the project decision schedule as developed by agency representatives assumes the force of law for agencies that are a party to the review process.

The Act also provides for expedited review of legal actions taken with respect to the Act. If a state or local agency fails to comply with a project decision schedule, the review team leader may bring an enforcement action against the agency. Such actions take precedence over all other court docket matters. The Act also imposes limitations on the jurisdiction of the reviewing court to grant injunctive relief against the project.

In other Tennessee energy-related legislation, Chapter 142 enhances the powers of the Tennessee Energy Authority, and makes it responsible for conducting a cost-benefit analysis of solar hot water heating in each new state building. Chapter 280 amends the Tennessee Surface Coal Mining Act of 1980, making it less restrictive for strip mine operators.

The Virginia Geothermal Resources Conservation Act, enacted as Chapter 506, establishes a permitting system for geothermal exploration, drilling, and development activities. It also clarifies the nature of the property rights in geothermal energy, placing the ownership of these rights in the owner of the surface property.

ZONING

In addition to the mandatory zoning treatment of family care homes, several other changes were made this spring in North Carolina zoning law. Chapters 891 and 705 require all actions challenging the validity of a local zoning ordinance or amendment to be brought within nine months of enactment of the local ordinance. Challenges to zoning ordinances enacted before the effective dates of these laws (county, June 26, 1981; city, September 1, 1981) must be brought within nine months of those dates.

In 1979 the minimum period for giving notice of a public hearing concerning a proposed municipal zoning ordinance or amendment was reduced from fifteen days to ten days. Chapter 891 applies the same time reduction to notices of hearings concerning county and airport zoning matters.

Chapters 891 and 705 clarify the provisions setting the 30-day period within which an appeal of a board of adjustment decision must be filed with the clerk of the superior court. Now written copies of the board's decision need be delivered only to those aggrieved parties who make a written request to the chairman or secretary of the board when the case is heard.

"THE SOUTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY ENACTED LEGISLATION WHICH SPECIFICALLY AUTHORIZES CITIES AND COUNTIES TO GRANT SPECIAL EXCEPTIONS PURSUANT TO A LOCAL ZONING ORDINANCE."

North Carolina city and county governing boards, and boards of adjustment, have long had authority to grant special-use permits, conditional use permits, or special exceptions, but the zoning enabling statutes have not spelled out the applicable procedures for each to use. The courts have generally held that governing boards must follow the same rules and procedures as the boards of adjustment. Chapter 891 confirms this, but it allows governing boards to grant such permits by a simple majority instead of the four-fifths vote required of the board of adjustment.

In South Carolina special-use permits, conditional-use permits, and special exceptions have never been explicitly permitted. This spring, in a move of potential importance, the South Carolina General Assembly enacted legislation which specifically authorizes cities and counties to grant special exceptions pursuant to a local zoning ordinance (No. 211). Special exceptions may be issued by the governing board itself, by the local board of zoning appeals, or by "another body."

House Joint Resolution 270, passed by both houses of the Virginia General Assembly, extols the virtues of solar energy and encourages flexibility in zoning and subdivision ordinances so as to facilitate the construction of solar-heated housing.

HOUSING

Enactments in North Carolina and Tennessee indicate the expanding role of state housing finance and development agencies in state housing programs. The North Carolina General Assembly created a commission that is directed to study the state's housing programs and report its findings no later than February 1, 1983 (Ch. 950). The legislators also transferred the North Carolina Housing Finance Agency from the Department of Natural Resources and Community Development to the Office of State Budget and Management, and gave it independent operating status (Ch. 895). Two minor acts expanded the agency's power. Chapter 343 increases the maximum allowed maturity of housing bonds from forty to forty-three years. Chapter 344 allows the agency to make rehabilitation mortgage loans for home improvements by low- and moderate-income home owners. In a related action, local redevelopment commissions are now allowed to make housing rehabilitation loans in redevelopment areas and to conduct private bond sales (Ch. 907).

Several legislative changes in Tennessee and North Carolina resulted from amendments to federal income tax legislation that limit the amount of tax-exempt residential mortgage subsidy bonds that may be issued in each state. In North Carolina the full permissible amount was allocated to the state Housing Finance Agency (Ch. 280). However, a portion of this amount was later reserved for notes issued by municipalities, redevelopment commissions, and housing authorities for use in their urban redevelopment and community development programs. This reservation will take effect, however, only if the U.S. Treasury determines that such notes qualify as mortgage bonds under federal legislation (Ch. 907).

In Tennessee the full amount of the state's allocation went to the Tennessee Housing Development Agency, which in turn divided this maximum among the counties on a per capita basis (Ch. 505). Proceeds of the bonds issued by the Housing Development Agency are distributed to local jurisdictions that do not issue mortgage subsidy bonds of their own. Anticipating the expanded use of the program, the Tennessee legislature also increased the debt ceiling for agency obligations from $692 million to $892 million. It increased the debt ceiling for obligations used to finance multi-family rental housing from $28 million to $43 million.

The Tennessee Home Mortgage Act of 1979 allows some local units of government to issue their own tax-exempt mortgage subsidy bonds. Chapter 504 strips all cities of this power, leaving the authority solely with counties and metropolitan governments. The Act requires these governments to give preference in their lending to properties that incorporate energy-conserving features. A certain percentage of the loans are to be reserved for homes with solar water heating units. The Act also enables eligible governments to make home improvement loans not to exceed $15,000 per dwelling unit.

BUILDING CODES

This year most southeastern state legislatures dealt with the applicability of building codes. In North Carolina the General Assembly expanded the coverage of the State Building Code by authorizing special fire protection regulations for existing high-rise buildings (Ch. 713). In 1976, the State Building Code Council adopted a new set of fire protection requirements for both new and existing buildings. Although the regulations that applied to existing buildings were less restrictive than those that applied to new structures, they were challenged in court by an association of owners of existing high-rises.

In Carolinas-Virginias Association v. Ingram [39 N.C. App. 688 (1979), rev. den., 297 N.C. 299 (1979)], the North Carolina Court of Appeals held that the enabling legislation for the State Building Code did not authorize this type of regulation of existing buildings. Chapter 713, supported by the Building Code Council, enacts the necessary authorization to reinstate most of the regulations, but provides a partial exemption for office buildings. Owners of office buildings must, however, now install smoke detectors and prepare evacuation plans. The legislature also indicated its intention to study whether further safety measures for office buildings are required.

The Virginia General Assembly extended the influence of its Uniform Statewide Building Code. Chapter 325 makes the Code apply to all

state-owned buildings. Chapter 498 permits local governing boards to require periodic inspections of certain buildings after completion to ensure continued compliance with Building Code standards. Another Act (Ch. 324) allows any city, town, or county to require smoke detectors to be installed in certain buildings constructed before the Building was adopted.

South Carolina's Building Energy Efficiency Standard Act of 1979 was amended this spring to establish mandatory minimum thermal resistance ratings (R-values) for ceilings and certain walls and floors in one-and two-family dwellings. In localities lacking local building codes, enforcement of the new requirements may be performed by a local official, or if desired by the local government, by the South Carolina Residential Home Builders' Commission, a licensing agency (No. 176).

TIME-SHARING AND CONDOMINIUMS

The increasing use of time-sharing arrangements or interval ownership in resort-area developments was recognized this year by the Virginia and Tennessee legislatures. Both the Virginia Real Estate Time-Share Act (Ch. 462) and the Tennessee Time-Share Act of 1981 (Ch. 372) define the legal interest involved in time-sharing schemes, provide terms to be included in title documents, and establish minimum requirements for public offering statements, which must

be registered with the state real estate commissioner. Both acts also address the handling of purchaser deposits,and provide a limited right for the purchaser to cancel a contract. Both acts stipulate that zoning, subdivision, or other local ordinance requirements may not discriminate against the creation of time-share intervals, or impose any requirement on a time-share project that would not be imposed on a similar development under a different form of ownership.

Chapters 455 and 503 amend Virginia's condominium-conversion legislation. They provide that the public-offering statement filed with the state real estate commissioner to convert existing buildings must include a notice of the price and an estimate of all condominium fees for each unit to be converted. Details of the investment company's tenant relocation plan, if it has one, must also be provided in the statement.

COASTAL LANDS

The North Carolina legislature was less damaging to legislation affecting coastal lands than expected. When the spring session began, the linchpin of the state's coastal program, the Coastal Area Management Act (CAMA), was scheduled to expire on July 1, 1983, unless explicitly re-enacted pursuant to the "sunset" provisions of state law. But to avoid a major time-consuming legislative battle over the re-enactment of this law, legislative leaders supported legislation that eliminated the automatic repeal feature of the former sunset law. The General Assembly did give itself more extensive authority over rules and regulations issued by state agencies, and authorized the Legislative Research Commission to study CAMA rules and regulations in particular (Resolution 61).

Chapter 913 made minor substantive and procedural amendments to CAMA. Chapter 925 enabled the state to purchase and maintain coastal properties subject to natural hazards for public beach access and use.

AGRICULTURAL LAND PRESERVATION AND RURAL LAND USE

Since 1973, a North Carolina tax-relief program for owners of agricultural, horticultural, and forest land has permitted partial deferral of property taxes on those lands. The property owner pays taxes only on the use value of his land, and taxes on the difference between the property's use value and its market value are deferred until the land is no longer eligible for the program. Under prior law, when the land lost its eligibility, the property owner had to immediately pay any taxes deferred in the five preceding years. With passage of Chapter 835, owners of such property will have to pay deferred taxes for only the preceding three years.

North Carolina planners and environmentalists should note two bills introduced this year that may portend things to follow. House Bill 1066, the Governor's agricultural land preservation bill, was endorsed by both local and state soil conservationists, but not the Department of Agriculture. It died in the House Agriculture Committee. It would have required that "prime" and "locally important" agricultural and forestal lands be identified, and that local soil and water conservation districts be allowed to comment on government plans and permit applications that affect such lands.

Virginia passed more elaborate measures to preserve agricultural and forestal lands, thus protecting or benefiting farmers. In Chapter 635 the state legislature found that the conversion of prime agricultural land in Virginia is undermining Virginia's food and forest production capabilities. The Act requires all state agencies, in promulgating regulations and undertaking capital projects, to encourage the preservation of farm land. It names six major state agencies that must prepare implementation plans analyzing the effect of each agency's own regulations on the conversion of prime agricultural land. The Act defines "prime agricultural land" as "land that has historically produced or

"VIRGINIA PASSED MORE ELABORATE MEASURES TO PRESERVE AGRICULTURAL AND FORESTAL LANDS, THUS PROTECTING OR BENEFITING FARMERS."

is producing agricultural or forestal products and is of a soil classified as a class 1 or class 2 soil by the National Cooperative Survey." It also directs the chairman of the state Council on the Environment to appoint the state agricultural commissioner to chair a subcommittee on the preservation of prime agricultural land with responsibility for reviewing and evaluating the effect of agency plans for preservation of farm land. The subcommittee must report its findings annually to the governor and the General Assembly.

Finally, the legislation requires all state agencies that submit environmental impact reports on major state projects to include in them an assessment of the project's impact on prime agricultural land, alternatives to the project, and measures for mitigation of agricultural loss. In reviewing each major state project subject to an impact statement, the Council on the Environment must determine if such consideration has been demonstrated and incorporate its evaluation in comments to the governor.

In Virginia, land located within a specially designated agricultural or forestal district pursuant to the Agricultural and Forestal Dis-

tricts Act of 1977 enjoys favored status in several respects. Agricultural property is assessed at its use value rather than its market value. Local development regulations may not unreasonably restrict or regulate forestry, farm structures, or farming practices. Also, state agencies' authority to purchase large amounts of land in such a district for their own public purposes is restricted. Chapter 54 now permits towns as well as cities and counties to establish these agricultural and forestal districts. The legislature also acted to stem the voluntary conversion of land within these districts to nonagrarian use. Chapter 54 allows a governing body that establishes such a district to prevent conversion of any district parcel to a more intensive use without prior approval of the governing body.

In a related action, Virginia's Chapter 418 added agricultural and forestal land preservation to the list of objectives to be attained by community planning, and directed that zoning ordinances and zoning districts be drawn with reasonable consideration for such objectives. It also requires local planning commissions to survey and study the preservation of agricultural and forestal land in preparing a comprehensive plan.

"NORTH CAROLINA PLANNERS AND ENVIRONMENTALISTS SHOULD NOTE TWO BILLS INTRODUCED THIS YEAR THAT MAY PORTEND THINGS TO FOLLOW."

Virginia farmers will enjoy another type of protection under the Right-to-Farm Act (Ch. 384). Similar to legislation passed in North Carolina in 1979, the Act provides that no agricultural operation shall be deemed a public or private nuisance because of changed conditions in its vicinity if the operation has existed for more than one year. It also voids all ordinances currently in effect or adopted after its effective date that would make such an agricultural operation a nuisance or provide for its abatement. However, these prohibitions do not apply if a nuisance results from negligent operation or if the operation changes significantly.

CONSERVATION EASEMENTS AND OPEN SPACE

Enactments in both South Carolina and Tennessee clarify the legal status of conservation easements. The Tennessee Conservation Easement Act of 1981 provides that conservation easements may be acquired on behalf of the people of Tennessee by governmental and certain nonprofit organizations. Restrictions on the use of land may be used to preserve, protect, or enhance the land, water, geological, biological, historical, architectural, archeological, cultural, or scenic resources of the state. Planners should reread that list to appreciate its breadth of purpose. The Act also establishes certain statutory rights held by holders of conservation easements, in order to overcome the restrictions and limitations of the common law which limit the use of these easements (Ch. 361).

"THE TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE ENACTED A NEW PERMITTING PROCESS FOR MAJOR ENERGY PROJECTS AND NEW LEGISLATION CONCERNING CONSERVATION EASEMENTS."

South Carolina amended existing conservation easement legislation to provide that these easement rights and obligations may be passed on to others by will, by assignment, or by sale, regardless of whether they are held by public or private interests (No. 187).

In related legislation, Virginia amended its "Open-Space Land Act," permitting local governments to acquire property interests (including easements) to preserve open-space for periods as short as five years (Ch. 64). Prior law required open-space interests to be acquired for at least 30 years.

CONCLUSION

1981 will not be remembered as a banner year for planning, environmental and housing legislation in the five southeastern states treated in this article. Given the current public emphasis on fiscal austerity and "deregulation," that should come as no surprise. Nevertheless, North Carolina's hazardous waste legislation, Virginia's farm protection laws, Georgia's Downtown Development Authorities Act, and Tennessee's energy legislation all break some new ground. All of these laws indicate new directions for planning, present additional challenges, and offer new roles for planners in the eighties.

Edward M. Bergman

Local Economic Development Planning in an Era of Capital Mobility

EXTERNAL FORCES AND LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

Capital mobility is the technical term used by policy analysts to describe the movement of industry from one place to another, often between declining and growing local economies. This subject has recently become a topic of considerable research and policy interest at two levels. First, researchers have been concerned with a tendency of corporate forces and national policies to foster a polarization of local economic conditions: disinvestment and plant shutdowns in declining areas simultaneous with reinvestment and plant relocation in growing areas. Second, the accelerated pace of disinvestment-reinvestment since the mid-seventies has begun to be identified as a serious problem for both declining and growing areas.

Indeed, one could argue that local economic development planning as a field has become newly prominent during this period of rapid economic dislocation. The burgeoning literature on local economic development planning during the seventies era of stagflation, recessions and municipal fiscal crisis attests to a strongly felt need by planners to help guide the development of their local economies. The American Planning Association's recently established Economic Development Division has become notable for its rapid growth and for overflow crowds attending its sessions at recent APA conferences.

Still absent, however, is a coherent sense of how a planner undertakes economic development from the perspective of the local community and its well-being rather than in response to national or corporate imperatives. The extraordinary displacement of local for federal perspectives has been argued by Yin (1980) in terms of local program agency structure, and by Bergman (1981) in terms of forfeiting areawide planning for piecemeal grantsmanship. The immutability of national corporate relocation patterns was argued by the President's Commission (1980), which identified the role of local economies as an obliging accommodation to the national trends. Even within states, local governments seem to play negligible--or at best responsive--roles in state level industrial development programs (Redmond 1978; Luebke, McMahon and Risberg 1979).

Yet the need for local economic planning has never been greater. Local planners may be the only force willing to come to grips with the rapid and wrenching changes in their local economies brought about by external forces. The time has come to identify approaches to economic development planning from a truly local perspective.

The remainder of this article will sketch the disparate patterns of economic change in North Carolina communities and then outline the options available to local economic development planners.

SOUTHERN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND CAPITAL MOBILITY: THE CASE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Economic vitality in North Carolina is so widely assumed that future expectations of growth go undisputed. For example, the North Carolina State Division of Policy Development recently released its workbook for local economic planners. The document's familiar projections of economic growth from 1980-2000 include 948,000 jobs and and a 3% annual rise in per capita income (N.C. Division of Policy Development 1981, pp. 11-14). The workbook estimates that 90% of all new jobs will be formed outside the traditional agriculture and manufacturing industries; fully three-fourths of growth in North Carolina is to be found in the population-serving industries of urban areas. Each of the expected growth rates exceeds national averages, but growth will not occur uniformly in all industrial sectors. Manufacturing will employ 28% of all workers by the year 2000 (down from 34% in 1980) and some industries will reduce employment by substantial amounts (particularly tobacco, food, textiles, apparel and wood products). After reviewing these projections, an observant columnist offered the following comments.

> ...The problem is current, and it doesn't hold implications just for the coming generation, but for today's Tar Heels.

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> The newspaper stories continue to startle as they filter in from locations across the state: a hundred or so jobs lost here; a thousand there. Those are not temporary layoffs, but signs of a basic change in North Carolina's economy.
>
> The headlines out of Laurinberg, Shelby, Salisbury and elsewhere as long-established textile firms change plans and methods are not about the future. They tell of today's North Carolinians who are finding their lives disrupted by change they are not prepared to cope with (Noblitt, October 1981).

These comments give local meaning to the research evidence which analysts studying "Sunbelt-Snowbelt" capital mobility have produced.[1] More specifically, Bluestone and Harrison (1980) have observed in the Dun & Bradstreet data a tendency for some southern states to behave like northern states in terms of net employment loss. North Carolina seemed particularly susceptible to net job losses during key periods in the 1970s. Heavy industrial concentration in textiles, apparel and furniture places the state in a vulnerable position during periods of inflation, business cycle decline and stagflation since these markets are highly dependent on the health of the homebuilding and automobile industries. The state's economy is also affected by the secular trend toward "off shore" operations as textile and apparel manufacturers seek lower labor costs in developing countries.[2]

These trends of capital mobility and plant shutdowns in North Carolina industries illustrate the range of circumstances which local economic development planners must deal with: industrial growth in some areas, industrial decline in others. The logical questions focus on the amount of growth, the amount of decline, and specific locations.

Table 1 presents evidence of manufacturing employment changes for the 1977-79 period. Two points are particularly noteworthy. First, at least 14,915 manufacturing jobs in 42 counties were lost over a two-year period[3], 77 percent of which are in textiles and apparel, the two most

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[1] The current literature of capital mobility and public policies is primarily focused on northern U.S. cities and regions where industry loss is greatest. The understandable attention paid to these areas tends to reinforce the familiar but essentially misleading view that planning for industry loss is solely a problem for Snowbelt areas and that planning for industry gain is the sole preoccupation of Sunbelt regions. That regional dichotomy is useful to the extent that it reflects very general tendencies toward uneven development, but it uncritically leads one to simplistic policies and avoidable "sectionalist" division (Shaul 1981). It ignores the reality of substantially sound local economies which can be found in the heart of the Snowbelt (Goldstein, Bergman and Paulson 1981) and the extraordinary flux of growth and loss in Sunbelt economies.

[2] Some loss trends in textiles may stabilize due to reindustrialization of that industry with new technology from textile-related capital goods industries (the latter principally instances of foreign direct investment; Leigh-Preston 1979).

TABLE 1: JOB GROWTH AND JOB LOSS IN SELECTED MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES 1977-1979

1977 Employment (4th qtr.)	Net Job Growth [1] Number	Percent	Industries	Job Loss: Closings/Layoffs [2] Number	Percent
41,655	2,904	6.97	Food	- 561	1.3
30,080	-3,594	-11.95	Tobacco	- 676	2.2
256,150	-2,222	- .87	Textiles	-8,548	3.3
87,216	- 619	- .71	Apparel	-2,898	3.3
33,367	2,834	8.49	Lumber	- 210	6.3
81,489	1,345	1.65	Furniture	- 580	0.7
21,855	- 569	-2.60	Paper	- 124	0.6
37,661	1,109	2.94	Chemicals	- 64	0.2
22.227	2,436	10.96	Rubber, Plastics	130	0.6
16,970	1,905	11.22	Stone, Concrete	- 80	0.5
38,141	8,721	22.75	Non-Elec. Machinery	- 512	1.3
45,978	10,459	22.75	Electric Machinery	- 300	0.8
10,465	3,733	35.67	Transportation Equip.	- 150	0.6
10,341	899	8.59	Instruments	- 39	0.4
60,586	5,410	8.92	Other Manufacturing	- 53	0.1
794,181	34,410	4.38	All Industries	-14,915	1.9

[1] Source: N.C. Bureau of Employment Security Research. 1977, 1979. Insured Employment and Wage Payments Annual Summary. Raleigh: Employment Security Commission of North Carolina.

[2] Source: N.C. Business Assistance Division. 1978-1981. Plant Closings and Permanent Layoffs in North Carolina. Raleigh: N.C. Department of Commerce.

vulnerable industries. Second, to overcome the loss of 14,915 jobs and also register a net statewide gain of 34,300 manufacturing jobs, the state's other manufacturing industries had to grow by at least 49,215 jobs.

Thus, on average, job growth in the state outpaced job loss by a three-to-one margin. As Table 1 clearly shows, the fastest growing industries in real and in percentage terms are non-electrical machinery (SIC 35), electrical machinery (SIC 36), and transportation equipment (SIC 37); together, they accounted for 65% of net job growth.

The tasks facing economic development planners would be far simpler if three jobs were gained in the same communities where each job was lost, particularly if the actual job losers --and not inmigrants--were hired for the new job openings. However, growing industries are not necessarily locating in the places with declining industries. To help visualize the potential for areas to experience various mixes of loss and growth, Table 2 presents summary statistics by general types of area in the state.

Recent manufacturing losses are clearly concentrated in small towns and nonmetropolitan counties of the mountain and coastal regions, while maufacturing job gains occur predominantly in metropolitan counties of the Piedmont. Metropolitan Piedmont gains are particularly heavy for SICs 35, 36 and 37, which are the state's fastest growing industries. These differences illustrate the unevenness of job loss and job gain at general levels of area definition. This in turn points to the likelihood that particular communities across the state will experience a wide range of economic circumstances in the near future. Different circumstances call for different approaches, even in a "Sunbelt" state. Planners in areas likely to experience rapid economic growth will have to deal with development issues similar to those which may accompany rapid expansion of the microelectronics industry (Whittington, ed. 1981; NC INSIGHT, Vol. 4, No. 3). On the other hand, planners in major job loss areas of the state must consider an entirely different range of options and stategies (Robinson 1981; Tremoulet 1981).

TABLE 2: RECENT MANUFACTURING JOB LOSS AND JOB GROWTH BY AREA 1977-1979

	Loss	Gain	SIC 35-37 Gain
Region (Total)	100%	100%	100%
Mountain Counties	18%	18%	9%
Piedmont Counties	49%	64%	79%
Coastal Counties	33%	18%	12%
Metropolitan (Total)	100%	100%	100%
Metro Counties	35%	60%	70%
Non-Metro Counties	65%	40%	30%
Urbanized Areas (Total)	100%	100%	100%
50,000 and over	18%	-*	-
10-50,000	34%	-	-
Under 10,000	48%	-	-
Total Jobs	14,925	34,751	29,061

*Statistics unavailable on place of work basis for urbanized areas.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1977, 1979. County Business Patterns--N.C.

STYLES OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The earlier part of this article takes note of two conditions which affect local economic development planners. First are pressures exerted by federal policy and corporate mobility to substitute external needs for local needs in the process of developing local economies. Second is the realization that local economies across the state are affected differently, i.e., some have growing industrial sectors while others are experiencing industrial decline. What, then, are the effects of these conditions on possible styles of economic development planning?

Before this question is explored more fully, a style of planning will be said to consist of several essential features grouped under the broad headings of planning, policy and development. These features are:

A. Planning
   1. Model of Planning practice (orientation of planner)
   2. Auspices for planning (agency or institutional setting)

B. Policy
   1. Industrial Policy in locality
   2. Labor Policy in locality
   3. Enterprise Policy in locality

C. Development
   1. Intervention model of implementation
   2. Illustrative development projects

If these essential features are now elaborated for both growing and declining localities[4] we are able to isolate stylistic variations which are due to differences in local economic conditions. To complete our examination, we will assume further that localities may adopt

[3] These estimated losses are undercounted. Not counted are the small plant shutdowns or job losses in remote parts of the state which escape the attention of newspapers or the clipping service used by the N.C. Department of Commerce.

one of two perspectives: responsiveness to external needs or responsiveness to local public needs. For reasons mentioned earlier, responsiveness to external needs characterizes much of prevailing practice, and local responsiveness is identified with an emerging (or latent) practice. This sets the stage for posing a typology of four distinct planning styles:[5] two prevailing styles (I and II) and two emerging styles (III and IV) for local economies which are growing or declining. The four styles are laid out in Table 3 in clockwise order of their emergence.

Style I: Recruitment Planning

Recruitment planning is the traditional basis for economic development used in growing areas--suburbs and regions--to attract corporate expansion. Public involvement in this style of economic development planning is quite limited. In the words of one observer,

> "For the most part, responsibility for guiding new investment to a locality has been perceived historically as being in the hands of the private sector--the province of the local chamber of commerce and the area development offices of the utility companies, the major railroads, and banking institutions. For the local government to intervene overtly in those decisions that determine the nature and level of jobs or the mix of economic activity in the community would have been viewed as an unwelcome intrusion." (Nathanson 1980, p.3)

Private sector vitality and initiative tend to displace expressions of local concern for explicit planning or policy making.[6]

Policies associated with this style of economic development tend to function at the level of operating assumptions. Industrialization of the area is taken for granted as obvious policy. This is generally linked with a tacit understanding that industrialization results from a corporate enterprise calculus which reveals the relative advantages of adjusting investments in plants from one area to another. Finally, the implicit labor policy expects workers who receive lower wages and social benefits for their families to subsidize economic development by reducing corporate labor and tax bills (Malizia 1976). A recent editorial posed the effects of this policy clearly:

> "In response to an inquiry from a business prospect, the state (North Carolina) Department of Commerce recently compared the pay of computer operators in the banking industry in Minnesota and North Carolina. Computer operators in Minnesota earn an average of $9.13 an hour, those in North Carolina $6.40... The difference, the department told its business prospect, amounts to a "savings in North Carolina of $5678 per computer operator per year." (Guillory 1981)

Typical development models include a wide array of industrial inducements and efforts to enhance the image of the area's "business climate" (Harrison and Kanter 1978; Schmenner 1980). Because it is the most familiar style of local economic development planning, variants of it can be found in nearly every locality, even in declining economies which have been badly affected by industrial losses (NCUED 1977; Nathan Barnes 1976).

Style II: Impact Planning

Impact planning is a more recent model of practice which is focused on efforts to mitigate or reduce the worst effects of industrial losses in a local economy. Although episodic experiences during the Depression and again in the recessions of the 1950s established a concern for the effects of plant shutdowns in some communities, formal economic development efforts were not conducted by localities until the recessionary slide of the 1970s. What has since become known as "The Standard Policy Response" (Bluestone and Harrison 1980, pp. 14-15) now constitutes the most recognizable public sector planning approach to economic development. The approach is based heavily on the continued availability of federal programs (CETA, EDA, CDBG, UDAG, FmHA) and it operates out of the local program offices that Yin (1980) has suggested come to mirror the organizational structure and policy concerns of their patron federal agencies.

The main assumption underlying federal and local impact policies is that they reflect a basic responsiveness to external rather than local needs. While federal policies are usually explicit, local policies are usually understood

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[4] Most of the following discussion assumes the existence of a local economy which is either growing or declining; but many undeveloped areas tend to behave much like developed economies experiencing severe or rapid decline.

[5] A variant of these styles is discussed in Bergman (1981b) and was also presented at the American Planning Association Conference in Boston, April 1981.

[6] Whether this displacement of concern results from business influence on local politics is a question posed and discussed by Lindblom and others in Siegfried, 1980, pp.239-324. For advice about ways of gaining local public control over industrial recruitment, see Redmond 1978.

Table 3
LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:
PREVAILING AND EMERGING STYLES

	Growing Areas	Declining Areas
Prevailing Perspective: Responsive to External Needs		
Planning	(I)	(II)
. Model of Practice	Recruitment planning	Impact planning
. Auspices	Business/industry development commission	Program agencies(CETA,EDA,UDAG)
Policy		
. Industry	Industrialization	Deindustrialization
. Labor	Money/social wage subsidy	Money, psychic, community costs
. Enterprise	Corporate adjustment assistance	Corporate immunity
Development		
. Intervention Model	Industrial Inducements	Impact program expenditures
. Illustrative Project	Kelley-Springfield (Fayetteville, NC)[1]	ILC Steinthal (Roxboro, NC)[2]
Emerging Perspective: Responsive to Local Needs		
Planning	(IV)	(III)
. Model of Practice	Strategic planning	Contingency planning
. Auspices	Economic planning staff	Economic Development Department
Policy		
. Industry	Industrial integration	Industrial stabilization
. Labor	Labor integration	Producer resources
. Enterprise	Neutrality	Community based
Development		
. Intervention Model	Public-initiated development	Community-initiated development
. Illustrative Project	Unknown	Rath Meatpacking (Waterloo,IA)[3]

[1] See Moriarty

[2] See Region K Council of Governments; Carlisle, et al 1978; Stein 1980.

[3] See Gunn 1980.

implicitly as background assumptions. Still, few planners would have difficulty in recognizing local industrial, labor and enterprise policies if stated explicitly. First, "deindustrialization" is the industrial policy in these declining areas. A firm's need to close or gradually reduce operations in older, less profitable plants means that it will withdraw production in certain areas, i.e., deindustrialize. This policy is, of course, the mirror-image of industrialization policies for growing areas and merely restates the obvious. Second, enterprise policy is based on the locality's implied acceptance of risks associated with corporate modes of decision making and investment behavior. This acceptance of risk probably extends back to a tacit acknowledgment that a corporation will not necessarily keep its plants in places where it earlier relocated them. By extension--although it is increasingly contested in most localities--this acceptance of risk also implies that corporations can later remove such plants and reinvest elsewhere without implied community obligations. Third, labor policy is based on the assumption that costs of absorbing local impacts will be borne primarily by released workers, their families and, indirectly, by other workers in businesses whose employment depends upon local wage purchasing power. Loss of wages, psychic and physiological distress, higher tax burdens, greater social program expenditures and continued obligations to amortize industrial infrastructure are included in the costs which all workers in the community ultimately bear (Carlisle and Redmond 1978).

Development activities are clearly implied by the term "impact planning". The typical model is a program "triggered" by sudden, unexpected losses of employment and economic activity. Earlier experiences with impact programs were limited to effects caused by uncontrollable acts of God (declared disaster areas) or the military (base closing). National urban policy has since included a concern for reducing the local impacts of necessary--but equally uncontrolled--acts of corporate mobility.

The programs associated with such policies are generally targeted on particulars of the episode which trigger a program: a specific plant, workforce or impact area. The consequences of planning solely for impact effects are twofold. First, in complying with the national policy mandates and program regulations, planners are distracted from efforts to plan for the coherent development of their local economies. Directives which specify criteria for triggers, targets and related aspects of program grantsmanship displace thoughtful plan-

ning. Second, the planner's role in redeveloping a local economy is placed in jeopardy when federal funds are withdrawn (as they appear to be), when localities can no longer afford the costs of standard impact program models, or when planners have no alternative style of planning to guide them.

There are many impact program efforts which localities have attempted that illustrate this stage of planning. One instance in particular concerns the well-chronicled efforts of an economically distressed small town in the North Carolina Piedmont to deal over a four year period with the estimated impacts of an expected plant shutdown (Kerr-Tar Regional Council of Government 1977), an unsuccessful attempt to use EDA Title IX funds to finance an employee stock option plan buy-out of the plant (Carlisle, et al. 1978) and the consequences of an eventual plant shutdown (Stein 1980).

Style III: Contingency Planning

Contingency planning is an emerging style which grows out of the ineffectiveness of impact planning in declining areas, and from an awareness that planning must anticipate impacts rather than react to them. As plant shutdowns and adverse economic impacts grow more frequent and as economic development officials come to recognize the scale of the problem, some questioning of the assumptions which lie behind the reactive posture of the impact planning model is inevitable. Since impact planning responds to episodes of economic distress only after they happen, actions taken seldom fit into an overall plan for the area. Moreover, efforts undertaken to mitigate these impacts are primarily devised to reduce the effects of corporate relocation. Some local officials have begun to question their past responsiveness to corporate needs. Faced with the sudden shutdown of two of three J.P. Stevens plants in Great Falls, S.C., the mayor declared:

> It's a first class shaft; there wouldn't be no J. P. Stevens without Great Falls and no Great Falls without J. P. Stevens. One's indebted to the other. They've kept all the industry out of here, owned all the land, monopolized the labor force and controlled this town lock, stock and barrel. (Allee 1981)

Repeated instances of impacts and many second thoughts by municipal officials are quite likely to lead to changes in perspective which favor economic development that is responsive to local needs. (See Carlisle 1978 for early proposal.)

Since it too is carried out in areas susceptible to plant closings and economic distress, contingency planning must expect future dislocations from external forces which the local area cannot predict or control (Malizia 1981b). Because local planners can not control such forces, they must adopt an anticipatory stance, and begin to make advance plans for future highly probable events.[7] Contingency planning can help mobilize an area's resources and inherent capabilities to deflect or accommodate impacts brought on by external forces. Contingency planning appraises in advance the strength of all economic sectors and anticipates prospects for plant shutdowns (Tremoulet and Walker 1980), plans potential economic redevelopment projects (Malizia 1981a), and provides community organizations and leaders with the information necessary to initiate local actions (Bergman 1981c).

To carry these tasks out effectively, contingency planning will probably be conducted out of a local economic development department or attached permanently to existing municipal planning and development departments. The change of emphasis expects impact program planners to move beyond their "grantsmanship" skills. They must now apply theoretical and practical knowledge of how their local economy actually operates, analyze key elements of that economy, and design economic redevelopment projects and policies which can be effectively implemented. (Bendavid-Val 1980; Malizia 1981a)

Under the contingency planning model, local policies toward industry, labor and enterprises would respond to local need. Industrial policy would attempt to stabilize industrial sectors with the long-term goal of protecting the locality's economic base. Economic development planning is responsible for estimating what a "sustainable" level of industrial activity would be in that local economy. Knowing the structure and linkages among the full complement of remaining industries, their likely tenure, new industrial investment potential and the total need for local resources which can realistically be provided, planners would be expected to help local officials devise industrial stabilization policies geared to the realities of the 1980s and beyond.

The unavoidable loss of firms in declining areas generally frees up employees who aren't willing or able to relocate, including many at the managerial level. A local labor policy should go beyond typical measures of employee resettlement or the marketing of unemployed labor power to a consideration of other possibilities. Unemployed workers are also skilled people who possess first-hand knowledge of work

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[7] Another view of contingency planning poses the central issue as an inability to predict contingent events, and stresses the need to develop plans which take maximum advantage of the opportunities which accompany any crisis (Malizia 1981b).

processes, who often know how to improve methods of production and distribution, and who occasionally are potential suppliers of investment capital (savings, pension funds, foregone earnings, etc). The relation of labor policy to this store of productive resources isn't likely to be overlooked if local enterprise policy is also considered simultaneously. If a policy for the stimulation of new enterprises is developed which takes explicit account of the producer resources held by labor, it is quite possible to stabilize vulnerable sectors in the local economy. Worker-buy outs, employee stock option plans, producer cooperatives, worker-community enterprises, community development corporations, and other innovative examples of efforts over the past decade to stabilize job-loss economies are worthy of close examination (Center for Community Self-Help 1981; Kelly 1976; Mahmood and Ghosh 1979; Zwerdling 1978).

Since many of these approaches require early public involvement in the planning, financing and implementation phases, local labor and enterprise policies should be established before the need arises. Here again, economic development planners are expected to study the conditions and circumstances which account for efforts that have successfully stabilized local economies, and prepare contingency plans for planners' active involvement in each of the phases.

The development activities associated with contingency planning include many of those discussed previously for Styles I and II, but these activities tend to be community-initiated. It might be said that contingency planning as a style began to emerge only after community-initiated efforts demonstrated a clear need for it. Established first as a device for minority groups to exercise economic power in otherwise strong local economies, community economic development has gone beyond its early concerns to include worker-community initiated responses to plant shut-downs in the local economy.

The establishment of UDI-CDC's industrial park in Durham, N.C. is one example of a federally funded effort,[8] and the extraordinary efforts of all concerned with the Workers Owned Sewing Company in Windsor, North Carolina demonstrates a broad based effort to help stabilize the local economy with a minority worker-owned firm (Bergman, Carlisle and Redmond 1979; Miller 1980). One of the most ambitious and far reaching attempts to stabilize a local economy involves union members, corporate stockholders and managers, and public officials in Waterloo, Iowa. This remarkable community-initiated effort involves local planning of feasibility studies and of two public revolving loan funds, workers' planned purchase of majority shares in Rath Meat Packing Company, workers' decision to forego scheduled benefit increases, and major reinvestments of labor-based funds in modern equipment and production processes under worker-manager control (Gunn, 1980).

Style IV: Strategic Planning

This style of planning would be the logical consequence of a growing area that adopts a local perspective toward its economic development planning. Since growing areas by definition do not experience serious job loss they needn't settle for more limited approaches offered by contingency planning. And since these local areas have adopted a local needs perspective, they aren't restricted to planning the recruitment of corporations which wish to relocate now (and perhaps again later). As used here, the dictionary definition of strategic, minus its military sense, provides all the essential elements:

> Utilization of all of a [locality's] forces, through large-scale, long-range planning and development to ensure [success]." (Random House 1966)

To help ensure the successful development of a stable and prosperous economy, localities adopt a long-range view of economic development. This posture avoids the problems occasioned by rapid, almost haphazard growth so prevalent in growing areas. It also allows the locality time to organize its capacity to plan for economic development and to properly accommodate desirable expansion of the economic base. Studying lessons learned the hard way in other places is well worth the time it takes, even if local business leaders become a bit impatient with the deliberate approach. A long-term view fosters open discussion and full consideration of plans and policies which affect all segments of the community.

Strategic planning also necessarily entails a large-scale effort to deploy available resources. This does not mean heavy doses of municipal expenditure or large federal subsidies; in fact, it could reduce current expenditures from all sources and lower the risks of heavy long-term public and individual costs. Instead, large-scale effort is a term which implies that economic development be considered an objective for all ongoing municipal functions. The full set of regulations, tax policies, public works and municipal program expenditures should be framed with long-term economic development objectives firmly in mind. A strategic view of planning would put planners in particularly close touch with budgets, tax policies, public procurement, expenditure patterns and public finance. Where these functions are

[8] UDI-CDC has perhaps had greater success in developing its park than in assuring that employers treat workers fairly. See Triangle Committee for Economic Justice n.d.

now essentially managed with conflicting or no explicit policy direction, strategic considerations would call forth a form of local economic planning. The institutional setting for this strategic guidance consists of a local economic planning unit that is placed close to these ongoing municipal functions. A large scale, comprehensive approach boils down to doing the everyday business of local government with one additional long-term objective firmly in mind: economic development.

A policy of industrial integration falls logically into place with this style of economic development. Integration refers first to an inherently logical and desirable mix of industrial sectors, given local resources and other determining factors which economic development planners and officials routinely appraise. The full powers of local government would also be integrated to provide essential public support, assistance, and incentives to preferred industrial sectors, and to do so with dispatch and timely cooperation. Finally, the inherent strengths and vitality of business or industry groups (chambers of commerce, private industry councils, industrial development commissions) which comprise the area's private sector would be harnessed as propulsive forces in local economic development activities. To draw on this strength without also succumbing to its traditional influence, localities must be prepared to negotiate openly with private sector interests on matters where business or industry involvement is critical, but also be prepared to know where such involvement properly ends.

How a growing locality preserves its public perspective on the area's long-term needs and reflects more than the pressing concerns of the private sector is a question of central importance. A moment's reflection on the passive--but often determining--role played by labor in traditional styles of economic development suggests that labor policy may provide the answer. Labor integration as a local policy would expect workers and their organizations (unions, professions, consumer groups, etc.) to represent long-run interests in desirable types of beneficial work and wage income available in a locality, and to do so from a direct understanding of the everyday realities of working in modern business enterprises. This representation might be "integrated" with that of business groups and public officials in an economic development council or some other tri-partite advisory framework.

Labor policy should also establish explicit positions concerning the traditional aspects of local employment planning, i.e., the availability of labor, job placement, job mobility, occupational safety and training. These are policy concerns which supercede any particular programmatic vehicle (eg. CETA) or prevailing program model (eg. human capital), particularly for localities which adopt a local needs perspective. For many reasons--including the roles played by local secondary schools and colleges--training policies deserve careful attention. A work force must of course hold requisite labor skills, but training might also provide worker awareness of labor interests in economic development issues, in productivity enhancement and innovation, and in opportunities for worker initiated enterprises. Thus, labor policy anticipates more active and direct involvement of the work force in economic development.

Finally, localities would be expected to adopt a neutral position with respect to enterprise type. Neutrality would mean that local government policies, taxes, regulations--nearly all acts subject to local decision making--would favor no enterprise form in particular. Thus, corporations, franchise business, small businesses, cooperatives, community-worker enterprises and all other potential forms of economic enterprise would find themselves on equal footing with respect to local economic development. Such a policy will doubtless require actions by localities to reduce favored treatment to some enterprises and to increase it for others. Recent congressional mandates to the Small Business Administration are a case-in-point at the federal level. Congress now requires the SBA to explicitly allow cooperative forms of enterprise to benefit from its programs; this is a simple example of the changes which localities might need to adopt.

The intervention model proposed here is one of publicly initiated development. A very active public role is envisioned, one which orients many public actions toward economic development, which attaches a sophisticated strategic planning function to appropriate departments and agencies, and which promotes integrated policy positions on the part of major actors. There is evidence that localities are considering the adoption of some of these features, but no place has adopted a fully developed version of Style IV economic development.

Elaboration of Styles in the 1980s

The four styles were discussed in the historical order in which they appear. Their evolution has resulted in large part from the increased velocity of capital mobility and the attempts of localities to gain control over their fate. The collective experience of many hundreds of local areas which work to develop their economies will become more widely known to economic development officials and planners throughout the coming decade. That experience will probably not resemble the pure stylistic forms presented above. It is unavoidable that perspectives which favor corporate and local needs will exist side by side in the same locality. Similarly, nearly every area is com-

prised of some industrial sectors which are growing and others which are declining. Thus, most areas will exhibit simultaneously two or more styles of economic development.

It is quite unlikely that planners can remain as complacent or indifferent to questions of economic development as they did a decade ago. The careful planner will want to sort through emerging trends and experiences of others to identify the styles which seem to work most effectively in different situations or circumstances. Indeed, the main task facing planners in the 1980's will be one of assisting localities to purposely guide the rush of economic events for maximum public advantage.

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Distributing the Public Cost and Benefits of Growth in the Raleigh-Durham Area

Although the accuracy of economic development models is enhanced by the inclusion of public sector subsystems, one problem which tends to be ignored in most of these models is the imbalance which often arises in the distribution of public costs and benefits. This problem involves two issues. One concerns the degree to which the public costs and benefits of development are distributed equitably among the residents within a single jurisdiction. The other issue pertains to externalities, specifically whether or not there is a significant spillover of costs and benefits from one jurisdiction to another.

This report deals with both types of issues over the period from 1960 to 1980 in the Raleigh-Durham area. Among the intrajurisdictional issues which we shall analyze is the degree to which suburban or fringe development in annexed areas has been underwritten by central-city residents, or conversely, the degree to which the property of suburban residents has been exploited as a new tax resource by central cities. If disproportionate shares of the costs and benefits of growth have been realized by certain groups, an inequitable situation will be deemed to exist. A second intrajurisdictional issue we shall examine is the administration of the property tax. Our purpose is to investigate a potential problem involving the equitable imposition of the property tax burden on residents of growing communities. The third intrajurisdictional issue that will be explored is the increasing reliance of growing communities on regressive means of generating public revenue. This trend is best illustrated in the widespread use of user fees.

Interjurisdictional issues involve the problem of externalities as opposed to inequities. These externalities, or spillover effects, could be termed "non-compensated costs or benefits" (Hyman 1973,p.291). They exist because the impact of economic development does not conform to existing political boundaries. Our task here is to describe this problem in Raleigh-Durham. It is manifest, first, within single counties because much industrial development has occurred in unincorporated areas. Since the population growth associated with this development tends to be concentrated in nearby municipalities, these cities and towns have assumed the responsibility of serving these new residents, but without the benefit of the property tax revenues generated by the new plants.

Another manifestation of the externality problem is the peculiar pattern of residential settlement which has emerged pursuant to the development of Research Triangle Park (RTP), a site of tremendous employment growth in Raleigh-Durham since the mid-1960s. Although most of this research and development park is located in Durham County, the majority of people who are employed in RTP reside in Wake County. Thus, RTP firms pay property taxes to Durham County while Wake County, and in particular its municipalities, bear the burden of providing public services to most RTP employees and their families. Prior to exploring this and other interjurisdictional issues, however, we shall examine in greater detail several intrajurisdictional issues.

INTRAJURISDICTIONAL ISSUES

A number of researchers have investigated the degree to which public services are being distributed on an equitable basis within cities. The approach which has most commonly been taken is that of the case study. Using this approach, Jones et al (1980) examined service delivery in three Detroit municipal agencies and determined that service delivery rules had been established by agency officials to assist them in distributing services. This is consistent with the enunciation of an elaborate set of service delivery rules in the Comprehensive Plan developed by the city of Raleigh. As we discussed in a related report (Usher 1981), levels of performance and service quality are clearly specified in these rules and they provide standards for evaluating the delivery of service. The fact that the standards are explicit encourages individuals and groups within the city to compare their status as service recipients with other residents.

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A study of San Antonio by Lineberry (1980) revealed that older neighborhoods of lower socioeconomic status had better access to city services, such as libraries and fire protection, than did newer, higher status areas. This and other analyses tend to contradict the conventional notion that poor areas receive fewer and lower quality services (Antunes and Plumlee 1977); in fact, those neighborhoods may tend to receive more public services. For example, streetlighting standards are met consistently throughout low-income, predominantly black areas of Raleigh, but not in other areas of the city (City of Raleigh 1979). However, such an imbalance would not necessarily imply an inequity if the collective decision of the community was to provide services according to a person's or area's need (Rich 1977, p. 335).

Consistent with this perspective, Whitaker and Mastrofski (1976) have cautioned analysts not to ask simply whether or not the distribution of a service is equitable, but to state clearly the criterion by which such a judgment will be made. Wildavsky (1979, pp. 367-370) has offered three standards for making assessments of equity. They are similar to several criteria suggested earlier by Whitaker and Mastrofski (1976). The first standard is equal opportunity, determining the degree to which every person or neighborhood has received a given level of service. This might also be termed the universal criterion (Whitaker and Mastrofski 1976). Another standard is market equity, or the contract criterion. According to this standard, a person or group of people receive a service at a level which is commensurate with their ability and willingness to pay for it. A third criterion is need, or equal result. Implicit in this criterion is the idea that some persons will require more services or perhaps more intensive service in order for a given outcome to be realized. This standard underlies most redistributive programs.

These criteria were developed to evaluate the equity of service distributions; however, it is obvious that they could be applied as well to the distribution of service costs. From this perspective, the inequity of receiving relatively fewer or lower quality services might be compounded by a person's having to bear a relatively large share of the costs of producing those services. The clearest case of inequity in the distribution of costs is the use of regressive taxes to finance the expansion of services required by growth. Therefore, we shall examine the financing of public services as well as their distribution.

Lupsha and Siembieda (1977) have argued that market equity is the standard by which the delivery of services in the Sunbelt is most often judged. While their hypothesis is not consistent with Lineberry's findings, it suggests that judgments might be made on a basis other than simply the universal criterion. This is important because three unique areas pertaining to the distribution of public costs and benefits of growth within a given jurisdiction will be explored below. First, we shall look at the use of certain regressive measures to finance service delivery in Raleigh and Durham. Second, we shall examine the manner in which the property tax is administered in North Carolina and describe how uniformly inefficient administrative procedures permit inequities to occur. Finally, we shall evaluate the impact of growth on city residents in older areas of the city and compare it to the impact growth has had on suburban residents. Specific attention will be given to their sharing the public costs and benefits of growth.

Financing Public Services Through User Fees

A tax structure can be based on either of two premises. One is that the taxes paid by individual citizens should be based on the marginal benefits they derive from public services. This "benefits approach" contrasts with the "ability-to-pay approach" which is based on a political decision regarding what constitutes an equitable distribution of the tax burden. Since the benefits approach is difficult to implement because of measurement problems most systems are based on the latter approach. From the perspective of the ability-to-pay approach, taxes can be classified as progressive or regressive. Progressive tax rates increase as the value of the tax base (income, property, etc.) increases. Regressive tax rates, in contrast, decline as the value of the tax base increases. Thus, according to values which tend to prevail in the American political system, a tax structure is perceived as more "equitable" if it employs progressive tax rates (Hyman 1973, pp. 148-151).

In order ultimately to realize an equitable tax system, two types of equity must be pursued. If persons of a similar economic status bear a similar tax burden, then "horizontal equity" is said to exist. Assuming that the principle of progressive tax rates has been accepted, "vertical equity" could be said to exist when persons of greater advantage have to devote a larger proportion of their wealth to taxes than do less-advantaged persons (Hyman 1973, p. 151). However, there are no objective standards for determining degrees of equity. The judgement as to whether or not an equitable arrangement exists for financing services is a collective political decision, and one that is often ignored or at least not confronted directly.

It is well known that linkages exist between given public services and the mechanisms used to finance those services (Usher and Cornia 1979). Some services are more prone to being supported by regressive revenue sources than are others. For example, public transit is usually underwritten by the fares paid by riders. Water

and sewer services tend to be largely supported by charges to consumers of those services. Other services (education, police and fire protection, refuse collection, etc.) are most often funded from general revenues derived from the property tax. Still another group of services (community development, employment and training, social services, etc.) can be provided primarily because federal funds for such services are available.

These linkages exist partly because of tradition and partly because of the nature of a service, specifically whether it tends to be labor-intensive or capital-intensive. Since growth makes demands on the public infrastructure, its effects are more likely to be detected first in those areas involving large capital outlays. For example, both Raleigh and Durham experienced substantial increases in expenditures for public utilities (water and sewer service) in the early and mid-1970s (Usher 1981). These projects were financed from municipal bond revenues as well as from federal assistance; however, a condition of receiving that assistance was that "enterprise funds" be established in order to keep money used for this purpose separate from other municipal funds. The establishment of such funds also involved setting up user fees which would be earmarked to support the enterprise and pay off the bonds. However, as indicated in the discussion which follows, financing public services in such a manner can spawn a variety of problems.

Until recently the city of Durham engaged in a practice known as "recapping" (Durham, 1980a: xvi). This simply involved combining the meter readings of all meters monitoring the flow of water to a given customer. However, since Durham offered lower rates to high-volume consumers, and until the late 1960s even had a maximum monthly payment (Blumstein 1975; pp. 187-190), the effect was to systematically reduce the costs of water service to those customers. In addition, since charges for sewage service are based on water consumption, those costs also were reduced. Thus, low-volume consumers--mostly residential customers--were bearing the brunt of the costs of water and sewer services.

Instead of establishing a maximum payment for its water customers, the city of Raleigh until recently imposed a minimum charge on its customers, regardless of the volume of usage. The effect of this policy (in addition to not encouraging water conservation) was to penalize smaller households. Furthermore, the rates charged per 100 cubic feet of water declined from sixty-four cents to thirty-eight cents according to a six-step charge schedule. Thus, high-volume customers realized a substantial rate advantage. However, a change in the rate structure in 1981 did away with this plan and replaced it with a two-step rate schedule (sixty-one cents per 100 cubic feet of water for 0-500 cubic feet and thirty-nine cents per 100 cubic feet for more than 500 cubic feet). The new rate schedule also replaced the minimum bill with a monthly administrative charge which is based on the size of the water meter which services a piece of property. Using this approach, the monthly charge for a plant having a six-inch line would rise from $3,150 to $4,085. Thus, on the basis of these changes, the editors of The Raleigh Times praised the new rate schedule in a January 6, 1981 editorial entitled "Fairer Water Rates."

Other illustrations can be provided of the increasing reliance of growing cities on user fees. Although this means of financing public services is most apparent in the area of public utilities (water and sewer services), it has come to be accepted in other areas as well. For example, in addition to increasing the property tax rate in 1980, the Raleigh city council raised fees for the use of recreation facilities and for participation in recreational activities sponsored by the city. Including bus fares, this means that fees now account for 21 percent of the revenues generated in the city of Raleigh (Holtzclaw June 19,1980).

Some economists have argued that the basic regressivity of user fees can be overcome by establishing sliding-scale fee structures (Mushkin and Vehorn 1977, pp. 46-47). They also claim that user fees may be fairer than the traditional source of local funds, the property tax, single low-income persons could avoid them simply by not purchasing services they did not want. However, given the necessity of obtaining water and sewer services and other public services, this argument may have limited application.

In summary,to the degree that growth increases the demand for certain public services, and to the degree that those services are financed by user fees, an inequity could arise. It would amount to low-income families having to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of financing certain public costs of growth.

The Property Tax and Equity in Growing Cities

Raleigh and Durham, like most American cities, still derive most of their general fund revenues from the property tax. The desirability of this practice from the standpoint of equity is unclear since economists continue to debate whether or not the property tax is regressive. If the incidence of the tax is considered relative to average household income over the long term, it does not appear to be regressive (Ebel 1978, p. 6). Employing the general-equilibrium model developed by Mieszkowski (1972), Oakland (1978, p. 117) concluded that "the overall progressivity of the property tax will mirror the incidence of ownership of capital--i.e., fairly progressive." It is also

possible to view the property tax as neutral (neither progressive nor regressive) if it is viewed as a "benefit charge" for the public services a property owner receives (Oakland 1978, p. 117).

In spite of these new perspectives on the incidence of the property tax, few theorists fail to acknowledge that the manner in which the property tax is administered can cause it to be regressive (Ebel 1978, p. 6). For example, assessments of property value can be systematically biased in such a way that more valuable property tends to be undervalued (Black 1977). Thus, the regressivity (or progressivity) of the property tax seems to have less to do with the basic nature of the tax than with its administration. Furthermore, as the following case illustrates, the manner in which the tax is administered in North Carolina makes growing communities particularly susceptible to this problem.

An analysis of housing values in Charlotte, North Carolina by the Mecklenburg County Tax Supervisor's office revealed that increases in property value from 1975 to 1978 ranged from 28 percent in one neighborhood to 93 percent in another (Waller 1980). Since property is reassessed only every eight years in North Carolina, and since rapid growth such as Charlotte is experiencing often contributes to inflated housing costs (Ramirez 1980), two problems result. First, the owners of property which is increasing relatively rapidly in value benefit from a lower "effective tax rate" than the assessed value. In Charlotte, for example, low-income predominantly black neighborhoods had the highest effective tax rates while high-income areas had the lowest rates (Waller 1980). Although wealthy homeowners are likely to experience the largest increases in their payments after revaluation, they probably realize a net benefit from this situation.

The second problem arising from this situation is that the city fails to collect revenue to which it is entitled. Again, the only means of addressing these problems is to conduct expensive revaluations more frequently.

The Differential Impact of Growth on Central City and Suburban Residents

The most intensive growth and development of American cities since the end of World War II has been in suburban and exurban areas. Suburbanization in Northern and Midwestern cities usually permitted those living outside the central city to escape the higher taxes there while continuing to use the city as a place for employment, recreation, and cultural pursuits. In contrast to their counterparts in these regions, Sunbelt cities have been aggressive in annexing developed areas on their fringe (Southern Growth Policies Board 1980 and Watkins and Fleischmann 1980, pp. 618-619). However, unlike the image portrayed in much literature (e.g., Harrigan 1976, p. 184), the annexation process in Raleigh-Durham appears to be somewhat noncontroversial and only infrequently does it involve heated battles between central cities and suburbs.

Of the 184 annexation ordinances approved in cities and towns in these ten counties other than Raleigh, Durham, Cary and Garner, 94 were in response to petitions from suburbanites seeking to be annexed.[1] In the town of Cary, so many petitions for annexation are received by City Council that a fill-in-the-blank form has been devised to facilitate the submission of these requests. In Raleigh, the process of annexation has become so routine that it is an integral part of land use planning in that city:

> The orderly growth and development of the Raleigh urban community requires the continual extension of the City Limits as urban development occurs around the edge of the existing community. An annexation plan setting forth a general schedule for incorporation of contiguous developed areas is closely related to the objectives of the Land Use Plan. Land use policies calling for concentration of higher density development must be coordinated with City plans for extension of urban services through the annexation process. The timing and cost of annexations are related to the location and quality of development, which in turn, is influenced by policies in the Land Use Plan. (Raleigh 1979b, p. 54)

Annexation potentially involves two critical issues concerning equity in sharing the public costs and benefits of growth. First, it is possible that the property tax resources in annexed suburban areas could be exploited by central cities. This would occur if the residents of these areas were brought into the city, but not provided the same quantity or quality of public services received by the residents of older areas of the city. The second issue which could arise is that suburban development could be underwritten by central city residents. In this case, the current residents of a city would experience tax increases as a result of extending municipal services to suburban residents who previously lived outside the city. In the two sections which follow, we shall explore both issues more thoroughly.

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[1] It should be noted, however, that residents of one area recently annexed by Raleigh fought the action unsuccessfully in court.

Extending Services to Annexed Areas

The State imposes seemingly stringent requirements on municipalities which intend to annex an unincorporated area (Usher and Greenberg 1981). Basically the requirements seek to guarantee that suburbanites will not be exploited by cities in an attempt to expand municipal tax bases. In our analysis of annexation records on file with the Secretary of State, the minutes of council meetings and annexation ordinances were reviewed to determine the nature of the plans for extending services which are required to be filed. Although the records were not complete and resources did not permit a systematic review, some general impressions of these plans can be offered. First, most cities seem to adopt an "input" orientation to the extension of services. That is, their plans are couched in terms of the level of resources currently committed to a particular activity and the proposed changes in resource levels which will be required to meet the needs of residents in the annexed area. The following excerpt from an annexation ordinance passed by the Town Commissioners of Franklinton, North Carolina on January 23, 1979 is illustrative:

> Services. The Franklinton Police Department, which is currently staffed by six (6) persons and ten (10) auxiliary officers, provides police protection for the Town through automobile patrols, and investigative activities. The department normally has at least one automobile patrol in service twenty-four (24) hours a day. Police patrol activities around the clock are for the purposes of preventing crime, detecting traffic violations and providing rapid response to various emergencies. Police officers also conduct investigations of reported crimes and traffic accidents. Dispatching fire and rescue units is provided by the Police Department.
>
> The extension of police protection to this [annexed] area will be provided by the current staff and equipment. A minimum of additional response time is projected in serving the area proposed for annexation. No deleterious effects to the general welfare of the existing Town and the area proposed for annexation are anticipated by extending police protection services in this manner.
>
> Financing. The expense for providing police protection services will be financed through general fund revenue produced primarily from the ad valorem tax levy in the area to be annexed.

Photo by Priscilla Cobb

A plan adopted by the city of Roxboro on April 8, 1971 discussed service extensions in terms which had an implied output orientation, although the emphasis remains on the resources which were required to implement the plan:

> Garbage Collection. Presently the city has one residential garbage truck serving 5,275 people, which gives a per capita ratio of one to 5,275. The city will purchase one (1) additional packer which will give the city two (2) residential garbage units to serve 6,855 people. The per capita ratio will then be one to 3,427, therefore, the garbage service will be on an equal basis in the existing area. The city presently has a residential garbage force of 4 men to serve 5,275 people. This gives a per capita ratio of one to 1,319.
>
> A new garbage crew will be hired consisting of 3 laborers and one driver which will give a per capita ratio of one to 857. Therefore, the residential garbage service will be equal to that in the existing city.
>
> Commercial garbage can be handled with the existing truck and 3 man crew. Dumpster service can be handled with the existing truck and driver. With the purchase of a new packer and an additional crew, garbage service will be on an equal basis throughout the entire city.
>
> Police Protection. An additional five(5) policemen will be hired and two (2) new police cruisers will be purchased. The present city has a ratio of one policeman per 430 people. With the additional five (5) policemen an annexation ratio of one policeman per 402 people will exist, therefore, police protection will be equal or better than present protection.

The final illustration is not typical of a substantial proportion of the plans on file with the state of North Carolina. In a June 16, 1970 annexation ordinance, the city of Sanford set forth plans for extending service which established explicit performance standards by which it could be held accountable. Police and fire department response times were set at five minutes and residents of the annexed area were guaranteed of having a fire station within two miles of their property. Refuse was to be collected twice weekly. Under the General Statutes (G.S.160A-50), Sanford could be taken to court for failing to meet these standards. In spite of the failure of most plans to set forth planned performance standards, residents of annexed areas are entitled to file claims for redress of grievances they have with regard to perceived disparities in service levels.

Underwriting Suburban Development

City officials in Raleigh-Durham clearly have attempted to minimize the degree to which suburban development is underwritten by central city residents. Perhaps the clearest illustration of this general policy is the manner in which the expansion of the infrastructure in the two cities (water and sewer lines, streets, curbing, streetlights, etc.) has occurred. As amended in February, 1980, Durham's Urban Growth Policy now requires developers to construct streets according to state standards as a condition for receiving water and sewage services. This is in addition to the requirement that provisions for public water and sewer service be included in the development. That same policy attempts to discourage residential development outside the so-called urban growth area through large-lot zoning (minimum 30,000 square-foot lots).

A similar practice in Raleigh also has the effect of passing the costs of development directly to residents and firms in the suburbs. According to our interviews with planning officials and developers, developers who desire water and sewer service in the city's extraterritorial jurisdiction must pay for the extension of lines to the area being developed. However, a ten-year contract is signed between the city and the developer under which an "acreage fee" of $300 per acre is charged to new customers who tap into the line between the point of origin of the extension and the developer's property. These fees are placed in trust and if any funds are collected within the ten-year period,the developer is reimbursed for a portion of the initial costs of extending the lines.[2] Also, until the area is annexed, water customers must pay double the cost of service inside the city.

As indicated above, developers in Raleigh-Durham are required to build into their suburban developments many facilities which formerly were provided through capital outlays by the cities. These include streets, curbing, sidewalks, water and sewage lines, and streetlights. This is usually accomplished by the cities using their authority to control development in their extraterritorial jurisdictions. However, a further extension of this principle is the recent effort by Wake County to encourage developers to include parks and recreational facilities in their developments (Tompkins November 8, 1980).

In spite of these efforts to minimize the costs of suburban expansion to residents in the central city, our interviews with informed observers revealed some dissatisfaction. One complaint voiced by several advocates of controlled growth was that the policy encouraged haphazard development which imposed a strain on public facilities. For example, streets that once served as feeders for older neighborhoods had to be expanded into thoroughfares which could handle the heavy flow of traffic to and from suburban areas. Another complaint was that city officials hastened the decline of downtown commerce in Raleigh by permitting the expansion of infrastructure which was necessary for the development of suburban shopping centers.

An important cost of suburban development that is shared by central city residents is the debt-service expense associated with the large bond issuances which have been used to finance water and sewage treatment facilities. Both Raleigh and Durham have undertaken multi-million dollar capital improvement programs since the early 1970s. Since the cost of such expansion is borne by all city residents in the forms of higher property taxes and water bills, residents of older neighborhoods must share in this cost. However, suburban city residents in turn contribute to the renovation of facilities which primarily serve the older sections of the city.

INTERJURISDICTIONAL ISSUES

In this section our attention will turn away from intrajurisdictional inequities and toward externalities involving two or more governmental jurisdictions. The basic problem we shall address is the fact that the impact of population growth and industrial development is not limited to a single jurisdiction. Thus, one jurisdiction may bear a disproportionate share of the costs of growth while another acquires benefits which far outweigh the costs it incurs.

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[2] One developer we interviewed in Raleigh indicated that he usually was able to recoup 100 percent of this cost in smaller developments; however, in at least one case, a large residential development relatively far from the city limits, he received reimbursement for only about 60 percent of the initial cost.

This problem will be examined on two levels. The first level involves the relationship between a county and the municipalities which exist within its boundaries. We are particularly concerned with the set of circumstances which has prompted tax increases in Raleigh, Durham, and other municipalities in the area while Wake County and Durham County are realizing large budget surpluses. The other issue involves the effects on other counties and their municipalities of development in a given county. We shall illustrate the problem in this area using the case of the Research Triangle Park, a research and development (R & D) park which has been developed in Durham County.

The Distribution of Tax Benefits Within a County

Included in the 1979-1980 Fiscal Year Budget of the town of Cary (Wake County) was a discussion of how an increase in tax rates could be avoided (pp. 112-113). The optimal solution, according to Cary town administrators, would be to produce an increase of $136.5 million in the tax base. However, the author added that "this $136,500,000 would have to be non-residential so as to minimize the cost of expanded town service delivery systems" (p. 113).

At a meeting of the Cary Town Council on November 13, 1980, the Cary Economic Development Council proposed rezoning a tract of land for industrial purposes in order to attract new industry. This would have the effect of expanding the town's commercial and industrial sectors which currently account for only 23 percent of its tax base (Jones 1980). On November 18, 1980, an article entitled "Pa. company to build research facility near Cary" appeared in the Raleigh News and Observer (p. 22). Although announcement of the construction of such a facility would seem to be welcome news, the key word in the title is "near".

While Cary is likely to realize some indirect benefits from the secondary processes of residential and commercial development, this new industry will not increase Cary's tax base, and therefore its revenues, unless it chooses to locate within the town boundaries. Furthermore, in spite of their authority to annex industrial areas on their fringe, municipalities in the Raleigh-Durham area seem reluctant to do so. This is in spite of research (ACIR 1973;Schmenner 1980) which indicates that the effect of property taxes on industrial location has been exaggerated.

Although Cary might not realize direct tax benefits from this new research firm, Wake County most assuredly will. This is one reason why county governments can contemplate tax cuts while municipalities are seeking ways to minimize tax increases. The aggregate effects of this situation are illustrated below.

Table 1
Assessed Value of Property *
(Millions of 1972 dollars)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1979
Durham County	$764	$1138	$1174	$1171	$1307
% in Durham	53%	42%	49%	62%	57%
Wake County	$486	$837	$1109	$2301	$2984
% in Raleigh	55%	57%	59%	54%	48%

* Source: Tax offices in Durham, Durham County, and Wake County; Raleigh Chamber of Commerce.

The above data reveal a very significant expansion of the tax base of Wake County, substantially greater than the rate of growth in Durham County's tax base. However, the proportion of the tax bases which lies within city boundaries has fluctuated significantly since 1960. After a period in which its share of resources declined, Durham experienced a resurgence in the mid-1970s and then another slight decline. Raleigh, on the other hand, has lost ground relative to Wake County as the tax base in that county has increased.

This fluctuation in the proportion of assessed valuation within city limits is due largely to two factors. One is the relatively aggressive annexation policy pursued by cities in North Carolina. As a result, while Wake County, for example, gained almost 72,000 new residents between 1970 and 1980, three of its municipalities (Raleigh, Cary, and Garner) experienced population increases amounting to 45,500 people. The other factor is a pattern of industrial development that has emerged throughout the state in which new plants tend to locate in unincorporated areas (Troxler 1981). For example, 11 of the 18 large (20 or more employees) manufacturing firms established in Wake County since 1970 are located outside municipal boundaries (N.C. Department of Commerce 1980). It is within this context, therefore, that the data presented in Table 2 must be interpreted.

Table 2
Manufacturing Establishments With
20 or More Employees*

	1967	1972	1977
Durham County	52	54	56
% in Durham	90%	82%	75%
Wake County	85	99	110
% in Raleigh	54%	53%	50%

*Source: Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufactures, 1967, 1972, and 1977.

In light of the data in Table 1, the information in Table 2 suggests two possible conclusions. First, residential and commercial development in Durham pursuant to industrial expansion in unincorporated areas might account for the increased proportion of the tax base which Durham shared with Durham County in 1975 and 1979. An alternate explanation is that Durham responded to its loss of five large manufacturing firms and the unincorporated county's nearly three-fold gain in establishments by annexing areas of residential and commercial development.

The number of large manufacturing firms in Raleigh, on the other hand, grew at a rate of 19.6 percent between 1967 and 1977, while the number of large manufacturing firms in unincorporated Wake County grew by 41 percent. Yet, in spite of the fact that Raleigh has substantially expanded its land area over the past 20 years, a large proportion of that annexed territory would seem to have been residential property. As the Cary budget noted, that type of development is relatively more expensive to serve and relatively less productive in terms of property tax revenues. However, Wake County enjoys the tax benefits of all types of development--industrial, commercial, and residential.

If our assumption is correct that cities and towns are not benefiting directly from industrial development, two courses of action might be considered. The first alternative is for municipalities to annex industrial areas as aggressively as they have residential developments. However, this approach flies directly in the face of the common perception that such actions create an unfavorable "business climate." As a result, local officials are not likely to pursue it.

The second alternative is for counties formally to redistribute a share of their tax revenues to municipalities, perhaps according to residential patterns of employees who work in the county. This would also encounter resistance since it would require radically altering the prevailing perspective of growth. It would require public officials to view growth in terms of the public-sector costs generated by expansion in the private sector instead of adopting a view which emphasizes its positive effects on the public sector.

Interjurisdictional Impacts of Development--Research Triangle Park

The founding of Research Triangle Park (RTP) in the 1950s by the State of North Carolina resulted in the creation of 16,000 jobs for the Raleigh-Durham area by the end of the 1970s (Triangle J Council of Governments 1980, p. 3). Located approximately eight miles from downtown Durham and eighteen miles from Raleigh, RTP is situated almost entirely within Durham County. However, officials of the Research Triangle Foundation who manage RTP have estimated that 60 percent of the RTP work force live in Wake County, and that 80 percent of new workers who come to work there are likely to choose to live in Wake County rather than Durham County or Orange County. This means that approximately two-thirds of the payroll at RTP firms is spent in Wake County.

The reason that this residential pattern exists, according to informed observers, is that Raleigh, and later Cary, had sizable inventories of moderately priced homes in socially homogeneous neighborhoods. Durham, in contrast, was said to have only expensive homes or run-down homes, both of which were often in close proximity to one another. Regardless of the reasons, however, it seems apparent that a large proportion of the residential and commercial development growing out of the establishment of RTP has occurred outside Durham County.

This pattern of development has important implications for decisions about who must bear the costs of public services demanded by RTP employees. For example, Durham County realizes the most direct public benefit of RTP, the substantial property tax revenues generated by firms located there. Yet, the greatest indirect cost imposed by those firms--the public services demanded by their employees--are borne by other jurisdictions, including Raleigh, Cary, and other areas of Wake County, as well as the City of Durham. Given that individual counties and the towns and cities located in them find it difficult to redistribute property tax revenues, it is very doubtful that local governments in two or more counties could arrive at an equitable arrangement.

A factor which has tended to offset the effects of this situation for Wake County has been the coincidental development of the Shearon Harris nuclear plant near Apex. Unlike residential, commercial and industrial property, property owned by public utility companies is revalued on an annual basis. As a result, new construction at this as-yet-unopened facility adds substantially to the Wake County tax base each year. To illustrate, between 1976 and 1980 the value of real property in Wake County increased by 82 percent while the value of property owned by public service companies increased by 142 percent. Furthermore, the property of these companies now represents almost 14 percent of the total assessed valuation of property in the county, an increase from 10.1 percent in 1976 (N.C. Department of Revenue 1980, pp. 226-229). However, this tax benefit accrues only to Wake County since the Shearon Harris plant is not located within the boundaries of any municipality.

Perhaps the only direct benefit to the city of Durham in having RTP nearby is the share of

housing and business it has generated within the city limits. Since the city provides water and sewer services to establishments in RTP, it does derive fees for those services; however, Durham residents had to underwrite the extension of service to RTP by passing a bond referendum. Therefore, unless a significant change occurs in the pattern of residential and commercial development associated with the Park, the city of Durham might realize a net loss in providing those services. Again, although it is a legal alternative, annexation of RTP by Durham is politically infeasible, at least from the perspective of some high-ranking city officials who have been interviewed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has examined the distribution of the public costs and benefits of growth on two levels. The first level involved intrajurisdictional issues, i.e., the degree to which costs and benefits were distributed equitably among the residents of a single jurisdiction. In this area it was found, first, that growing cities such as Raleigh and Durham are becoming increasingly reliant on user fees, a regressive form of taxation. It was also determined that rapidly growing cities in North Carolina tend to confer a tax benefit on wealthy residents (in the form of lower effective tax rates) because property is revalued only once every eight years. Finally, it appears that in spite of their liberal annexation powers, cities in North Carolina have not exploited residents in suburban developments, nor has that development been underwritten heavily by the taxes of residents of older neighborhoods in the central cities.

The other issues examined were interjurisdictional in nature. One issue concerned the fact that counties have experienced significant increases in property tax revenues as a result of the inclination of industrial firms to build new plants in unincorporated areas. At the same time, towns and cities in these counties, following the prevalent pattern among cities in North Carolina, have annexed suburban residential developments which were brought about by the new industry. The net effect has been a maldistribution of the public costs and benefits of growth, with a disproportionate share of the tax benefits of new development accruing to the counties, while municipalities are incurring the responsibility of serving a growing number of new residents. However, it appears that a delayed response of the counties may be to assume a larger role in providing certain services.

Another interjurisdictional issue we examined involves the effects of industrial development in one county on governments in other counties. To illustrate this problem, we described the residential settlement pattern that has emerged with the development of the Research Triangle Park (RTP). While this particular situation also entails the intrajurisdictional issue we just described, the fact that two-thirds of the employees of RTP firms live outside Durham County implies that jurisdictions outside the county are providing public services to RTP employees without deriving the tax benefits associated with the plants in which they work.

Accepting the arguments advanced in this paper requires that the reader accept the notion that economic development does, in fact, impose costs on the public sector. Furthermore, at a given point in time, those costs may outweigh the benefits derived from that development. This occurs in spite of the secondary and tertiary effects of economic development (e.g., increased income tax revenues and state aid to local governments), and in spite of the fact that new industry contributes directly to increased tax revenues. The imbalance in the distribution of public sector costs and benefits arises not from the failure of new industry and residents to pay taxes, but from the failure of government--local, state and federal--to use tax revenues efficiently; i.e., to allocate, or reallocate, revenues to jurisdictions according to the need for public services.

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Book Review

The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities. Carl Abbott, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1981. 317 pages. $19.95 cloth, $9.95 paper.

In the second half of the seventies, national publications developed the concept of an increasingly significant and distinct region termed the "sunbelt." Using various geographical definitions, writers have discussed the Sunbelt's culture, politics, and rapid growth, usually in contrast to the relative decline in the formerly dominant North and industrial heartland. These discussions have focused on national issues, including sectional conflicts over federal resources, and changes in national political and cultural trends instigated by newly influential Sunbelt vanguards. The aggressive rising of the South into the consciousness of the nation has occasioned tomes of descriptive and speculative analysis in a variety of disciplines..."Southern fried chic," as one long-time student of the region describes it.

In The New Urban America, Carl Abbott examines the physical and political development of rapidly growing middle-size and major cities in the Sunbelt. He defines the Sunbelt as "a pair of regions oriented toward the southeastern and southwestern corners of the United States that have shared similarities of economic development and demographic change since the 1940s." He first describes these similarities in the context of regional shifts in national growth, a fairly standard and predictable, though proficient, treatment of trends now well established. The main issues of the book then emerge: how has the experience of rapid population growth in Sunbelt cities affected their local politics? And, what are the added implications of changing patterns of land use and development within metropolitan areas? Here Abbott's work is much more provocative and the strengths of his arguments pull the earlier descriptions into context.

In setting the stage for discussion, Carl Abbott compares the growth patterns of Sunbelt cities since World War II. The numbers reveal the importance of whether Abbott's five representative middle-size cities developed as "regional markets," "service centers," or "military centers." The representative cities--Atlanta, Denver, Portland, San Antonio, and Norfolk--range in population from 1.4 million (Atlanta) to Norfolk's 681,000. Though their growth in the last three decades has sometimes been explosive--especially in the science-based white-collar economy of Denver and the South's services and trade center, Atlanta--the rates of growth are in the middle range for the Sunbelt. Within the nation, it is wealthier Western cities that deviate most from the North in the socio-economic characteristics of their residents, because southern cities are tied to relatively poor hinterlands.

Turning to an explanation of the interactions of growth, land use, and politics, Abbott finds that comparable patterns of "social geography" were developed by the elected officials and bureaucrats of city after city in the last four decades. Beginning with local responses to the national mobilization for World War II, with its massive migrations of people to each of the five cities, he describes in colorful terms the boom-town challenge to prewar city leaders to "think fast and act big." Surprisingly, the desperate strains on resources for housing, transportation, and other urban facilities did not convince the city governments of the need to expand. The city leaders acknowledged the huge pressures this rapid wartime growth produced but, looking to the past, their fears of another postwar depression constrained the scope of their actions. Confronted with increasing demands for services and advised to lead local government into a more active and comprehensive role, the city officials responded with "adamant inaction."

When the war ended, and a cold war economy presented not depression, but unanticipated and unprecedented opportunities for expanded growth, a new political movement developed in the Sunbelt cities. Efforts led by active and formalized contingents of local and corporate businessmen dragged reluctant city governments kicking and screaming into a new era of large-scale master plans and public works financed by bonds. The business leaders unabashedly presented large public works projects and plans as tools for economic growth. Not wartime services for a new

population influx, but the transition to a growth economy justified the cities' large investments in public works and facilities, and in the planning functions that rationalized them. The growth-oriented businessmen and professional bureaucrats of the "good government" teams worked through the late forties and fifties to oust the more conservative city hall "cronies." They built cities on a scale to match their exuberant boosterism, developing suburbs they hoped would strengthen the city's growth. However, Abbott shows that in the sixties the suburbs began to challenge downtown economic advantage, since the suburbs by then harbored most of the powerful and wealthy. As a defense, city business leaders employed urban renewal.

"In the urban renewal alliance, it was impossible to separate public and private interests, to untangle private real estate booms and surges of public construction, and to differentiate between the goals of bureaucrats and businessmen," Abbott declares. Most cities' downtown redevelopment efforts began with a few false starts. The specter of federal involvement led one Richmond newspaper to speculate that the city was inviting the "shadow of Marx." However, in 1954 the irresistable lure of profitability was introduced. Congress authorized funds for non-residential redevelopment. Then investors and businessmen busily and successfully mobilized bond drives and built downtown redevelopment projects. Although other interest groups occasionally negotiated for projects peripheral to the grand plan of the boosters, such as housing, this opposition did not hinder the urban renewal leaders.

The urban renewal projects of the sixties exemplified the nearly exclusive power of the business interest groups to define the issues and projects of Sunbelt city governments. In the 1950s these same business progressives had used grand scale metropolitan planning, developing and annexation to spur growth. While the leaders of "glamour" cities exhibited "a tendency to focus civic pride on a pharaonic scale" in downtown redevelopment, they overlooked basic services for less affluent city dwellers. By the end of the sixties, enough wealthy and influential citizens had moved to the suburbs to build a base for their own better services. Now the suburbs were no longer dominated by city agendas. Governmentally, economically, and socially, the suburbanites defined themselves as self-sustained. Thus the growing independence of Sunbelt suburbs during the late sixties and seventies generated a new stage in urban politics. Within the less prosperous cities, neighborhoods and other groups began to organize around local concerns and services and to compete for scarce resources. The pursuits and concerns of the business boosters and their families were fragmented by their dispersal into suburban communities. Abbott calls this stage of the cities' political development "metropolitan pluralism."

In accounts of confrontations between residents of suburbs and city neighborhoods over basic support services, Abbott shows that the consensus of the "businessman administrations" on issues of growth and allocation has been shattered. Specific and localized interest groups now effectively challenge the concept of public interest that turns out to serve particular business interests.

Abbott concludes with the prediction that the Sunbelt cities fitting his model have exhausted strategies used by the proponents of "growth under unified direction." Now the old integrative strategies are giving way to fragmentation. Abbott raises the hope that "stranded" cities and suburbs, facing many of the same problems, may find common cause.

Abbott's goal is to develop a better understanding of the spatial dynamics of suburbanization in Sunbelt city politics since World War II. Because these cities in the South and West are growing so rapidly, he contends that their patterns and innovations in government and decision-making will influence the future agenda and terms for urban politics throughout America. He successfully presents his thesis by synthesizing a broad variety of research sources into individual city histories. The New Urban America makes a solid contribution to an analysis of Sunbelt city politics, yet one that raises many questions of interpretation.

The book's focus on the impacts of suburbanization on city politics tends to leave out of the picture some corollary considerations. Abbott mentions race, class, and economic theories, but does not suggest their influence, their explanatory power, in his conclusions. Abbott is optimistic that, especially in times of crisis and scarcity, diverse groups in cities can structure new means of equitably allocating resources, which the business-dominated leadership of the past failed to do. He does not question whether business progressives may be losing their hometown perogative not to fragmented groups of other residents, but to ever-expanding corporate and conglomerate power holders. If the destinies of cities in the growing Sunbelt is to be more firmly controlled by these much more concentrated investment decisions, how can the local alliances that Abbott hopes to see protect the health of the cities?

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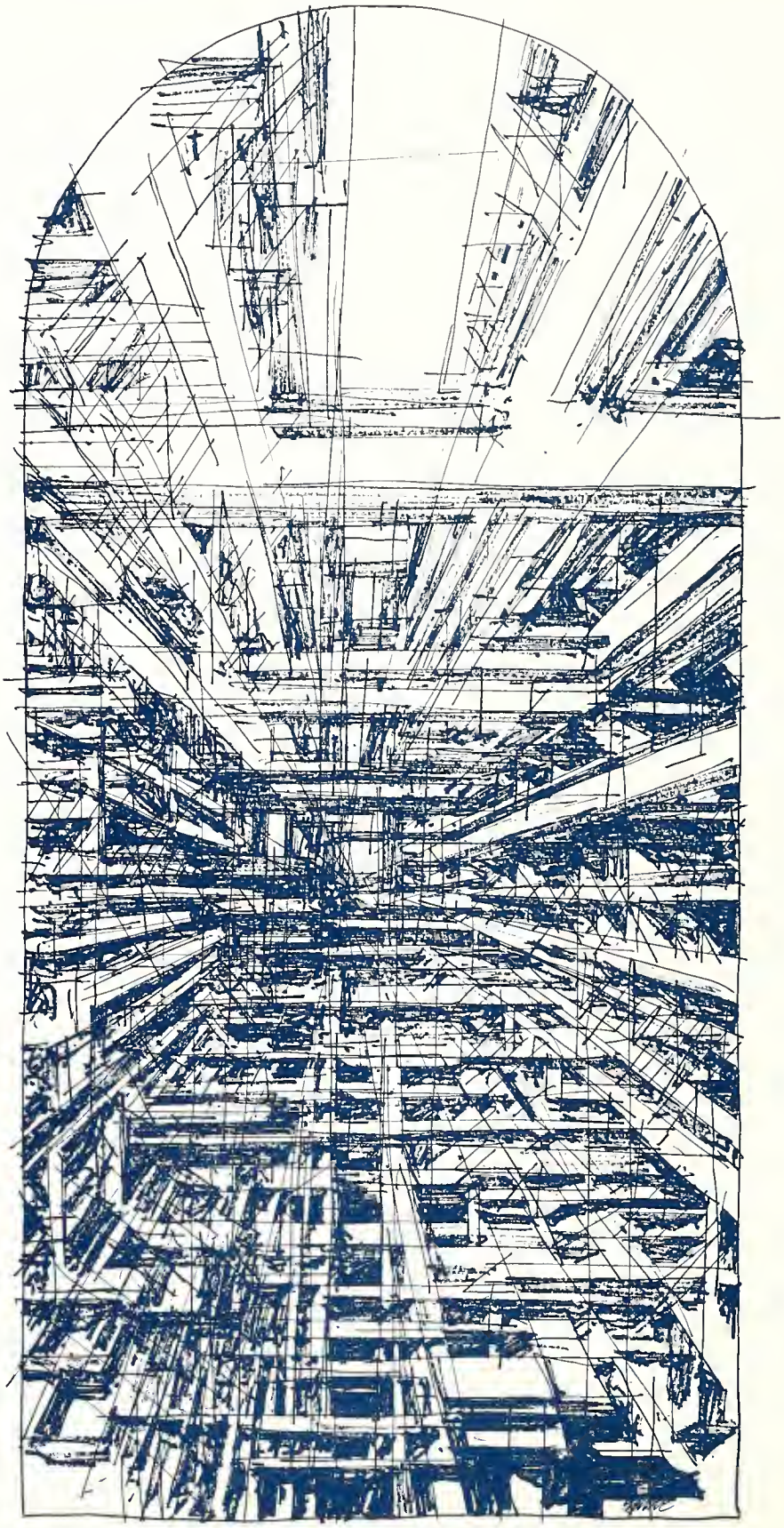

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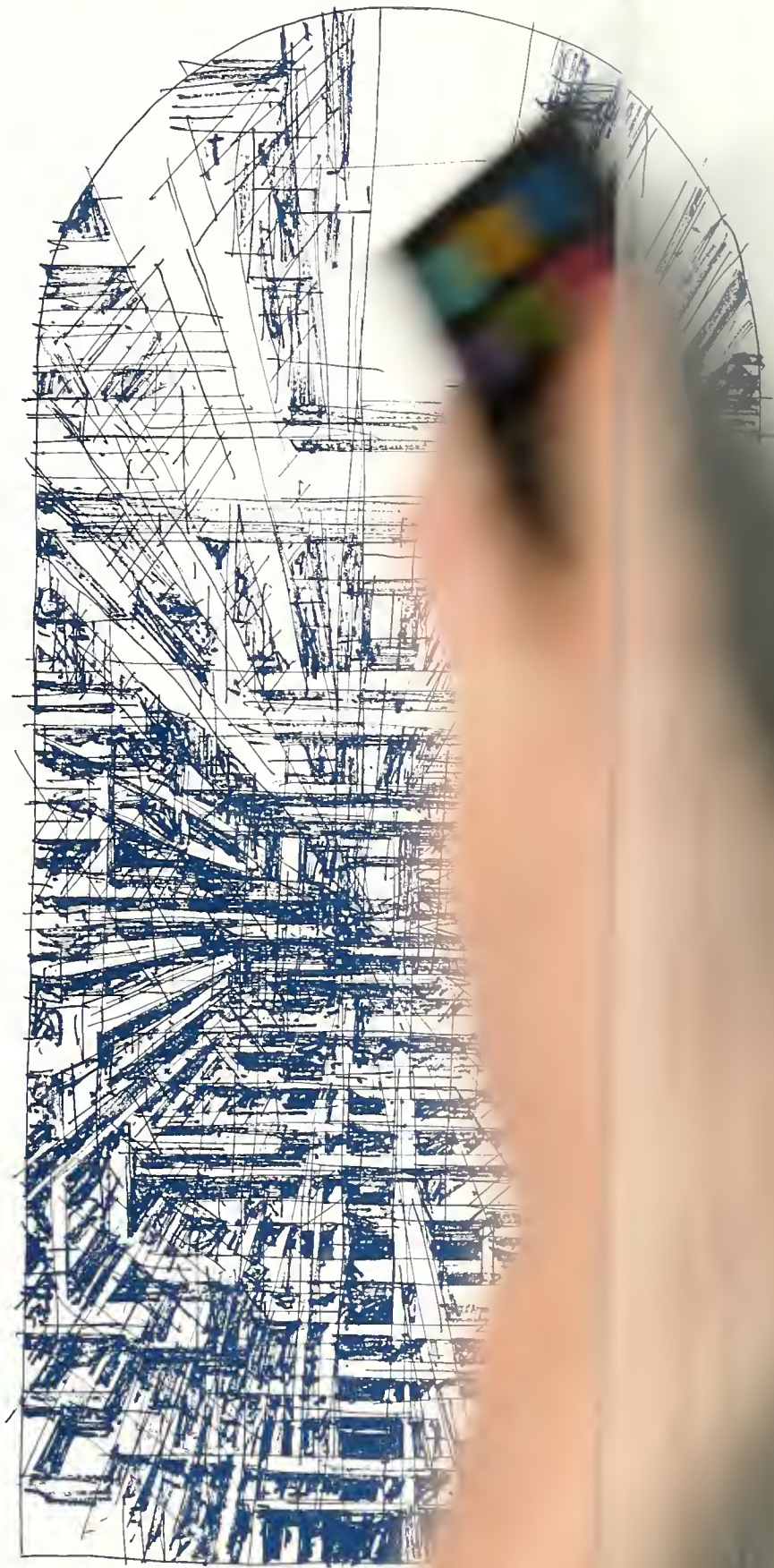

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